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# West Europe Report

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21 October 1985

## WEST EUROPE REPORT

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POLITICAL

AUSTRIA

FOREIGN MINISTER ON STATE TREATY, NEUTRALITY

AU041825 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German (SOVIET UNION supplement) 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Article by Foreign Minister Leopold Gratz: "A Very Specific Solution: The State Treaty, Basis of Foreign Policy"]

[Excerpts] It is often maintained that the quality of a model attaches to the Austrain State Treaty and that a solution such as was found for Austria would also be applicable to other open international problems. But the Austrian State Treaty was the outcome of a very definite historical and world political situation as well as the outcome of the cohesion of the people and parties in Austria. Hence, it is impossible to apply the Austrian solution to other conflicts like a pattern. The "Austrian" solution was a very specific one. We can, however, draw a generally valid conclusion from the history of the state treaty: It is possible to see that even after 10 years of tough negotiations, after many years of a seemingly unchangeable confrontation, universally satisfying solutions can be achieved. This experience, therefore, inspires us Austrians also today to never lose courage in international committees, in conferences, and in negotiations.

On the international level, the state treaty very often is assessed not only as a decisive moment in Austria's history, but also as the first or at least one of the important signals which introduced an era of detente in East-West relations. If this is really true, Austria's experiences over the following years may perhaps confirm the opinions of those who think that a new period of detente offers greater and special possibilities of action to the neutral (or also nonaligned) countries. According to the same train of thought, however, the leeway for a neutral country would be reduced in times of rising tensions. I cannot quite follow this reasoning. I think that, particularly in a time of increased tension, the neutral and nonaligned countries play a special role. This is shown very clearly by the function of the neutral and nonaligned countries of Europe at the CSCE conference. There they have proved again and again their usefulness for all European states, particularly in a time full of tensions.

When in 1955 Austria was again accepted into the international community as a totally free and independent state and as a full and equal member, this gave us the chance to establish contacts with the states of our world from a new starting point. Of course, the shaping of relations with our neighbor

countries has always been of particular importance in this connection. Here Austria is in a special situation. Almost half of its borders are with neighbors which belong to--as it is called today--a social system different from ours. On the other hand, we have been closely linked to these neighbors by history over centuries. Thus, Austria has considered its role as a permanently neutral state to be a stabilizing factor and an element of safeguarding peace and keeping harmony at this borderline between East and West.

The policy of good neighborliness must, of course, not mean that one closes his eyes against true differences and makes believe that all countries are the same. Thus, neighborhood policy must not mean that through it the loyalty of the neighbor country to economic, political or military alliances is questioned. We want to avoid this--in the same way as we want to avoid doubts about our belonging to the community of pluralistic, Western democracies. The objective of neighborhood policy may be--beyond the geographic link, which can be seen as historical incident--to establish a wide range of cooperation in the interest of the states and also in the interest of the people in Austria and in the neighbor countries.

For Austrian policy the state treaty of 15 May 1955 has been neither a hindrance nor a limitation or even a shackle. Rather, the treaty and the constitutional law on permanent neutrality permitted this policy, which now has brought 30 years of successful development for Austria and is the basis for Austria's position today in the world.

CSO: 3620/4

POLITICAL

AUSTRIA

ANDROSCH DEFENDS HIMSELF ON TAX CHARGES

Vienna KURIER in German 25 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Lubert Wachter: "Is the SPOe's Hope for a Hannes A. Chancellorship a Chimera?"]

[Text] He holds political conferences with the SPOe [Socialist Party of Austria] mayors of Salzkammergut--his vacation notwithstanding. He meets, as a matter of course, with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl for exchanges of ideas lasting hours. And this summer he has again been making headlines: Hannes Androsch.

He firmly believes that by fall he will finally be cleared of the suspicion of tax evasion. And again he is devoting himself--more zealously than ever--to politics.

He feels one should not dramatize Austria's scandals, including the one involving wine additives: "Our wine was and is good!" Austria's trade and industry must no longer be maligned, he says.

Generally speaking, Hannes A. points out, one should make every effort to keep Austria from becoming isolated in the international arena.

Altaussee, 153 Fischerndorf [place and street in Austria]. Brigitte Androsch says it with a forced smile and a nervous twitch at the corners of her mouth: "That fellow Heinz told me--by October it'll be over--the matter will be finished, after all."

"Heinz" is the well-known astrologer Heinz Fidelsberger, and the "matter" is the Androsch tax case.

Only Vienna's Investigating Judge Anton Zelenka, the public prosecutor, and (perhaps) Franz Vranitsky's internal revenue office know whether there is any truth to the prominent Fidelsberg man's reading of the stars.

Hannes Androsch--ex-finance minister, ex-vice chancellor, ex-favorite minister of ex-chancellor Bruno Kreisky, presently director general of CA [Credit Anstalt], showing up for the KURIER interview in a relaxed spirit, appropriately clad in lederhosen--is quite certain (in his own mind):

"It will be dismissed!" In the same breath, he speaks of the "most infamous villainies" he has been subjected to in the last few years.

As for the investigation by the judge and the public prosecutor--Hannes A. considers it inadmissible anyway, since it is outside the boundaries of competency. Even if the justice department returned "the case" to the internal revenue office--not dismissing it of its own accord--"nothing would ever come of it." For according to the one-time head of the treasury, "The revenue office has been checking things time and again. They never found anything, because there isn't anything. So they're not going to do anything further."

This summer, Hannes A. has been making headlines again. Max Gessler reappeared and denounced Herbert Salcher who, he claimed, "wants to destroy" Hannes A. At the mention of Gessler, Androsch glanced up as though he wanted to say: "Thank God, he came." Even though it hadn't really been necessary.

Change of subject. What is Androsch going to do, once "the matter" is over? Is he going to climb into the political ring again?

Climb even greater heights than before?

"What does this mean--chancellorship aspirations, or the SPOe's chancellorship hope? Figments of the mind.... I'm quite satisfied, heading CA [Credit Anstalt]; I told Fred Sinowatz as much and that's all!"

What Androsch is not saying out loud--unless he is among real friends--is this: Once "cleared," he would certainly "have to take long walks" to think about a political comeback. To talk about Fred Sinowatz, as some people are doing even now, as a "fill-in for Hannes" he considers bad form and politically tasteless.

So back to subjects more weighty.

In Androsch's view, the imminent stabilization of CA--to be effected through a state subsidy amounting to 7 billion--proves (provided the OeVP [Austrian People's Party] takes part) that in Austria really difficult problems can still be solved by the two big parties acting in concert. In this regard, Androsch has total faith in "the subject matter expertise of people such as Robert Graf and Josef Taus."

He is highly pleased with SPOe leader Sepp Wille and Wille's latest statement in support of industry; and with the statement Wille made in Zwentendorf to the effect that joint action by SPOe and OeVP could surely be considered a "demonstration" of cooperation, perhaps even a preparatory stage of a grand coalition. Androsch: "Yes, the stabilization of CA, the subsidies for the concern's various branches, could likewise be seen this way. This is an equally good example."

Almost a recommendation of Hannes A. for potential leader of a different coalition government!

Apropos "scandals," "acidic meadows and swamps" to be drained, Androsch says rather coolly: "Austria is a mountainous country, not a flat marshland. In a mountainous country, there may occasionally be puddles and they have to be cleared away. But--for reasons of geography alone--you need not drain any marshes."

What is this? This statement is made by none other than Hannes A., whose "case," after all, was one of the factors that made Federal President Rudolf Kirchschlaeger sound dramatic moral appeals!

Androsch: "That the reference here was to my case is your interpretation!"

Basically, Androsch says, "one should take care in Austria not to malign industry and its managers. As though economic activity were potentially criminal. If someone nets a profit, he or she violates the canonic prohibition of profit. If a loss is incurred, people right away call it embezzlement or faked bankruptcy. That won't do!"

Canonic prohibition of profit--does not precisely the SPÖ's left wing support this?

Socialist Androsch: "Like Felipe Gonzales in Spain, I consider myself an unorthodox socialist, and secondly: it's not only in SPÖ circles that you encounter poverty preached rather than lived..."

And then the verbal broadside aimed at several prominent "comrades": "All of those distribution-oriented politicians constantly think about just one thing, namely how to distribute profits. I've never seen any of them consider ways of distributing losses."

Androsch's "prescription" for the country: Aside from unconditional support for industry (see above), broad political consensus of the parties. Despite all the scandals, maintain strong self-assurance--but without craving for status. Regarding economic policy, keep Austria from becoming isolated from Europe (and the world).

Increase exports still further and expand tourist trade.

And above all: "Don't ask what the government, the country is doing for you, but ask what you can do for the country," Androsch "modestly" quotes ex-U.S. President John F. Kennedy.

But with one eye on the government and the opposition, Androsch smoothes things over and concedes: "Certainly, for the politicians it has become extremely difficult to define goals and keep on course."

8760  
CSO: 3620/503

POLITICAL

AUSTRIA

**SINOWATZ DEFENDS GOVERNMENT ON SCANDALS, CORRUPTION**

Vienna KURIER in German 1 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Hubert Wachter: "Why Should the Scandals Be the Government's Concern?"]

[Text] In today's SPIEGEL issue: Austria, Republic of Scandals. Tales of Vienna, 1985: wine spiked with glycol is just one of many Austrian scandals--and by no means the greatest. The nearly endless series of scandals has discredited the country all over the world. Austria is not only an idyllic place for tourists. Today Austria stands for corruption, abuse of authority, party membership-based favoritism, and union featherbedding. Federal President Kirchschlaeger has appealed to his compatriots "to put an end to this period of scandals." Read in SPIEGEL magazine: "The republic is losing its dignity."

The SPIEGEL report on Austria has been a shock to our politicians. And the cabinet leader, Chancellor Fred Sinowatz ("one need not be ashamed of Austria"), is offering some harsh comments. Surprisingly, he dissociates the SPOe from certain scandals, e.g. the Proksch affair and the Androsch case.

The seemingly jovial cabinet leader from Neuenfeld (Burgenland) is angry. Fred Sinowatz is clenching his fists again.

"If I invite somebody to my house to show him my beautiful living room and if that person only goes to the lavatory, to the outhouse, and then says that fellow's house stinks--this surely is not a true picture of my house!"

By this simile, Federal Chancellor Fred Sinowatz wants to show that he considers the SPIEGEL report on Austria an outhouse tale.

"Yes, I'm angry about this, because as an Austrian I have to say that the picture painted here is not a true picture of this country."

Stop, Mr Chancellor! Have you forgotten all that has happened in the last few months? All the affairs, scandals, blunders? Our neighbors are bound to gain the impression that....

Sinowatz, crossly: "How so? These scandals and affairs--are you by any chance referring to the one concerning that ship and Mr Udo Proksch? Tell me, why should this be the government's concern? I mean, the fact that the foreign minister is a friend of this man--well, OK, but tell me, why should this concern me, the government? Or take that Rablbauer fellow. Or what if someone bribes the public prosecutor? Tell me, why should this be the government's concern and what can a government do in such a case?"

But Mr Chancellor, there's Udo Proksch, Club 45--and anyway, according to the SPIEGEL report, the ministers Gratz, Blecha and Ofner are backing Mr Udo "with all the authority of their office."

Sinowatz: "That's simply not true! And anyway, none of these matters concern the SPOe! I'd like to know in what respect they're supposed to concern the party! That the judicial inquiries concerning Proksch will not be obstructed in any way--I'll put my hands into the fire for that, yes, sir!"

The cabinet leader has gotten "heated" anyway:

He feels Austria's neighbors are "somewhat arrogant" when they refer to the country as "Kakanien" [derogatory nickname making fun of Austria's royal and imperial past], a place where politicians "wait out any scandal, never regarding it as a cause for resignation." In an unusually succinct manner, Sinowatz states:

"In my capacity as Federal Chancellor, I am the one who makes policy in Austria, but I do so without taking anyone's advice!"

And besides, what does this mean--"republic of scandals?" Sinowatz begins to shout:

--"It is a scandal when countries that are presently lashing out at Austria show two-digit unemployment rates, while we register no more than 4.5 percent!"

--"In this last third of the 20th century, it is a scandal that something that in Austria is unshakeable--namely the social system--is in jeopardy in the other countries!"

--"It is a real scandal when in other countries there are industrial walk-outs--enormous strikes lasting months--while in Austria there is the highest degree of stability."

Sinowatz: "I want to make this clear--it is a question of value-based priorities and of a sense of proportion!"

--In the last few months, Sinowatz says, the Austrian Government has been pursuing a "pioneering environmental policy," but "it is a real scandal that in other countries this field has received no attention whatsoever-- and it's necessary that this be made clear."

But, Mr Chancellor, there are after all two affairs, namely Minister Frischenschlager shaking hands with ex-SS member Walter Reder and the Androsch case, which is still attracting attention in the international arena.

Sinowatz: "Certainly, there is no doubt that Frischenschlager made a political mistake. But today nobody is interested in Reder any longer--there was a great deal of exaggeration, and a false impression was created of Austria. As for Androsch--there is a preliminary investigation, which must first be concluded. In no way is this a concern of the SPÖ or of the government! After all, I don't know what's going on right now. Once the investigations are concluded, the right thing will be done and you can rest assured: it'll be all right!"

Sinowatz, "who keeps losing staff members to the investigating judge" (SPIEGEL) is both angry ("Tell me, whom did I lose--outrageous!") and pensive:

He feels Federal President Kirchschlaeger was quite right in sounding his moral appeal: there is indeed cause for concern that many young people may be disgusted and therefore turn away from politics.

Obviously, Sinowatz has to draw on his self-control to cope with the mordant criticism voiced by artists and writers. His reply to Andre Heller ("We're living in a pulp magazine. As a citizen, one is constantly embarrassed") and Thomas Bernhard (Austria, "Europe's festering sore") is as follows:

"We know that artists often express themselves in a drastic manner. We also know that artists very often change their opinions.... One has to accept that. But one need not be ashamed of Austria, no, not at all!"

8760  
CSO: 3620/502

POLITICAL

DENMARK

**POLL SHOWS WIDE AGREEMENT ON INTELLIGENCE SERVICE NEED**

**Following Kjeld Olesen Incident**

**Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Sep 85 p 6**

**[Article by Asger Schultz: "Gallup Poll: Intelligence Service Necessary; Its Work Benefits Democracy"]**

**[Text]** It continues to be the clear view of the people--notwithstanding the recent extensive discussions of the intelligence service's activity--that the intelligence service is necessary for the country and that its activity benefits our democracy.

This appears from a survey which the Gallup Institute has undertaken based on the summer's hot debate over the intelligence service and Kjeld Olesen's resultant announcement of his withdrawal from Danish politics.

The survey is a repeat of the survey taken in 1978 and a representative sample of the adult population encompassing about 1,000 people was asked, first, the question:

**/"Do you believe that it is necessary or not necessary for a country to have a secret intelligence service?"/**

The response was as follows, compared with the 1978 survey:

	1978	1985
	%	%
Yes	73	68
No	10	8
Not Certain	17	24
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

If one disregards the "Not Certain" group, where there is some variation, there is no difference between the "Yes" and "No" responses in the two surveys, and that means that the summer's debate has not affected the public's attitude toward the intelligence service of the military and the police. A very large absolute majority still acknowledges that the intelligence service is necessary for the country.

Divided according to political affiliation, the responses in the recent survey were as follows:

	Yes	No	Uncertain	Total
	%	%	%	%
Right of Social Democrats	76	4	20	100
Social Democrats	70	8	22	100
Left of Social Democrats	63	20	17	100

The question also was asked:

/"Do you believe that the intelligence service uses illegal means and methods?"/

The response was as follows:

	1978	1985
	%	%
Yes	43	43
No	33	22
Uncertain	24	35
Total	100	100

The "Uncertain" percentages also show variations here, but aside from that, there is no difference in the two surveys. But it is shocking that only 22 percent definitely reject the idea that the intelligence service utilizes illegal methods.

Finally, the question was asked:

/"Do you believe that the intelligence service overall is a benefit or a detriment to our democracy?"/

The results were:

	1978	1985
	%	%
Beneficial	61	56
Detrimental	14	10
Uncertain	25	34
Total	100	100

The voters do not feel the threat to our democracy which the intelligence service's activity often is attributed as being. It would be easy to imagine that people on the one hand accept the intelligence service in view of the circumstances which now exist in the world, but on the other hand acknowledge that its activities are destructive of democracy.

However, this is not the case. Only 14 and 10 percent, respectively, in the two surveys believe that the intelligence service's activities harm democracy.

Budtz, Engell Comment

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 3 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by Thorkild Dahl: "Defense Minister: 'Gratifying That People View Intelligence Service Positively'"]

[Text] The Social Democrats' defense spokesman Lasse Budtz calls the intelligence service necessary but wants better parliamentary control over its work.

It is gratifying that such a large majority of the people have a positive impression of the role of the intelligence service in our society, Defense Minister Hans Engell (Conservative) believes, and the Social Democrat's defense spokesman Lasse Budtz is not surprised that such a large percentage of the population views the existence of an intelligence service as positive since "there is not the slightest doubt that intelligence services are necessary."

BERLINGSKE TIDENDE today presents a Gallup survey which shows a large majority of the population believing it necessary to have a secret intelligence service.

The intelligence services' existence and work have been the subject of the summer's heated debate following the Social Democrats' former foreign minister Kjeld Olesen having publicly stated that a Social Democratic delegation's trip to Moscow was stamped as underground activity in one of the intelligence service's internal magazines. Kjeld Olesen read the defense ministry's papers and retracted his views.

Defense Minister Hans Engell tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE that "the summer's debate has not changed the view, but rather, has contributed to strengthening understanding of the necessary work which is being carried out. A democracy must be able to protect itself, and in this regard, the military's intelligence service contributes significantly."

"Naturally, we do not want a society where the intelligence services or other secret organs act as states within the state, without contact with the society which is to be protected," states Hans Engell.

"This also is not the case in Denmark, and it is gratifying that the people do not view it as such, despite a frequent one-eyed political campaign from SF [Socialist People's Party] and VS [Left Socialist Party] attempting to create suspicion about the defense intelligence service's activity," Hans Engell states, and complains that on the issue of the intelligence services, that the Social Democrats "apparently would rather talk with SF and VS instead of the non-socialist parties."

The Social Democrats' defense spokesman Lasse Budtz has directed a series of questions to the defense minister in Parliament concerning the intelligence service's activities and Budtz is announcing new discussions, including in the defense committee, when Parliament meets in October.

"I am not surprised that the figures are so high, including among Social Democrats, because there is not the slightest doubt that the intelligence services are necessary," Lasse Budtz tells BERLINGSKE TIDENDE.

The Social Democratic defense spokesman however is "concerned about parliamentary control in order that the intelligence service not become a state within the state."

"I am not certain that the parliamentary control is good enough and things have not been completely in order during the summer," Lasse Budtz states, and "I believe that the intelligence services basically obey the law, but just as with others who read books and see movies, I have my fantasies."

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CSO: 3613/197

POLITICAL

DENMARK

POLL SHOWS GREENS GAINING SUPPORT; PARTY STILL DIVIDED

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 19 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Sten Tolderlund: "Greens Can Expect to Receive Four Mandates"]

[Text] The new party, the Greens, has made its breakthrough according to a new opinion survey.

"Since we were formed as a party in October, 1983, we have been the subject of many jokes--both harmless and malicious--including from the well-established parties. But we have learned to live with the joking, and since the beginning of the year when the Interior Ministry approved us as ballot-qualified for the next parliamentary election based on the receipt of 24,000 signatures, it has been as if the old parties have become more environmentally conscious."

This was the comment of a member of the party--the Greens--coordination committee, Egon Rasmussen of Lemvig, to BERLINGSKE TIDENDE. He believes that the old parties now will begin to listen seriously to the party in that, according to an Observa survey for the morning newspaper, JYLLANDS-POSTEN, the party has reached the two percent boundary for the first time. That means that if there were a parliamentary election today, the party would win four seats in Parliament.

Even though the party thus has landed on the political hit list, there remains a long way yet before it achieves the same success as its West German counterpart.

But the Greens say that the party is working "with a long-term view" in contrast to "the present parties' short-sighted policies," as the Greens characterize them.

The line is clear enough. The environment and the ecology are the bases for the party's formation, respecting which several local environmental and peace groups are cooperating. But there are many other chords to play. Local self government and local social groups have a very high priority and therefore the party supports decentralization and opposes great concentrations.

These will be the viewpoints which the Greens will assert in connection with the municipal election, in which the party will participate. In fact, the party is in full swing over the entire country in making preparations for the municipal elections on 19 November. In many municipalities, the party candidates themselves are running, while in other areas, it has sought cooperation with the local ballot-list groups.

But the Greens are not on the move only at the local and national level. Emphasis also is being placed on international efforts, although the party is convinced that this should not occur through either the Common Market or NATO.

The people behind the party come from both the right and the left of the middle of Danish politics, and for that matter, from the middle itself. In one respect, however, this has been unfortunate because what economic policies should the party assert? This is the jumping-off point.

These and many other things will be discussed when the Greens hold their first national convention. That will occur during the weekend of 14-15 September in Roskilde and will receive TV coverage.

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CSO: 3613/197

POLITICAL

DENMARK

GREENS' FIRST CONGRESS PRESENTS PLATFORM OF 'VISIONS'

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Sep 85 p 2

[Article by Kim Barren]

[Text] 'The Greens' are friends of nature and want for all citizens to be paid a salary. The party has not taken a position on who is to pay it.

"The old parties are afraid of us because we are unpredictable politically and at the same time an infinite magnitude. They do not understand what we are saying and what we have in mind. In their powerlessness, they hasten to include 'green' viewpoints in their party programs without realizing what it means to be 'green'."

This was the concluding remarks to the old parties at the first national congress of 'The Greens' by former folk high school teacher Kaare Rasmussen, who himself defined a 'Green' "as a person who is a friend of nature because nature is first and greatest."

Only future will show whether the old parties need to be afraid of 'The Greens.' The national congress held over the weekend, did not provide any indication of what the party actually stands for, apart from advocating a better environment.

The debate on both Saturday and Sunday was marked by the fact that the party is still, as Per Christiansen, Otterup, put it "in the process of being born and, therefore, should be allowed to make mistakes."

One of the items which engaged 'the Greens' participating in the national congress was the party's position on the introduction of 'citizen salary.' The proposal gave rise to much discussion, and many different positions were aired, from its introduction at birth to a gradual introduction based on age. The size of the amount was to be based on the age at which a person started receiving his 'citizen salary.'

The purpose of the 'citizen salary' is, in the opinion of 'The Greens,' to introduce a reasonably high standard of living for all who are not able to participate in the labor market, whether they do not desire to do so themselves or have been prevented from doing so as a result of unemployment.

Several of the members stated that there were already the first tendencies toward "citizen salaries" in the form of daily unemployment benefits, welfare payments, state-subsidized education of students [low-income families] and pensions, and that it was merely a question of calling things by their right names. Nobody, however, said anything about where the money would be coming from, perhaps in view of the fact "that the economic policy is a vast and complicated subject, and the position of the party, therefore, has to be viewed as preliminary and incomplete obiter dicta," as stated in the draft platform of 'The Greens.'

### The Greens Are Full of Visions

Report from a weekend among nice and pleasant people in a smokeless canteen. People who wanted a greener environment and allowed their movement to change into a party which is now on its way into the Folketing.

This is the report from a national congress held by a new party, full of visions, but still without its feet on the ground.

A party which wants to become represented in the Folketing but opposes cooperation with other parties and instead wants to fight for a thorough discussion of things with a view to a progressive green society.

A party with an economic policy which opposes income tax and wants for it to be replaced by an expenditure tax paid by industry by way of higher taxes on raw materials and other resources.

A party which does not want to be placed on the traditional right-left scale in the political picture but says that their voters will have to be taken from the Socialist People's Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Radical Liberal Party.

A party which wants to send Anker Jorgensen (Social Democratic Party) and Poul Schluter (Conservative Party) a list of thirteen questions, asking them to indicate the number of times they agree with the party. The one who crosses off the largest number of correct answers, though a minimum of ten, will be advocated as prime minister by the party.

A party which presents a draft resolution which is subsequently withdrawn because some of the delegates consider it an insult "for all the good ideas to be boiled down to such little substance."

A party which prepares a new statement from their national congress which they now refer to as a resolution, which is subsequently rejected by the participants in the congress "because, after all, why should we end up in the same national congress syndrome as all the other parties."

A party which holds a national congress in order for its members to "get the feeling of one another and to get some guidelines on the party to take home for discussion in the local groups."

A party which opposes party careerists but supports a lot of active Green people with good ideas who will work for the party.

A party which consists of approximately 750 active members whose joint platform is the work for a better environment.

A party which concludes its national congress without having arrived at any decisions because decisions are made at the four annual meetings of delegates, which form a quorum, regardless of the number of participants.

A party which, according to the two most recent Observa polls in JYLLANDS POSTEN, will tip the scale of the Folketing, but which, so far, has nominated candidates in three constituencies only.

A party, by the name of 'The Greens,' which, over the past weekend, held its first ordinary national congress, in a smokeless canteen, at Roskilde County Secondary School.

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POLITICAL

DENMARK

**BUDTZ RETAINS POST AS SDP DEFENSE SPOKESMAN DESPITE FUROR**

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 24 Aug 85 p 9

[Article: "Budtz Continued Spokesman for SDP"]

[Text] Despite the strong censure of Lasse Budtz earlier in the week, his position as defense spokesman for the Social Democrats will not be changed. But he is warned against "philosophizing" too much.

Following a meeting yesterday of the Social Democratic parliamentary group, former Prime Minister Anker Jorgensen advised that he has no plans whatsoever to replace the party's defense spokesman, Lasse Budtz, with someone else. If some type of job rotation is to occur with the Social Democratic group, it will not include Budtz.

But the defense spokesman received a form of warning from the party leader against philosophizing too much: "Every politician can find himself in the situation where he has given his imagination free reign and philosophized and then made a statement. That type statement gets /used/, and this demonstrates that one must be careful about philosophizing."

Otherwise, there is the possibility of a redistribution of various committee posts in the Social Democrats' efforts to make themselves visible in the coming parliament. The weekend newspaper BERLINGSKE AFTEN was able to advise yesterday that certain dissatisfaction has arisen over former Social Democratic ministers sometimes acting as a type assistant minister if they are sitting as ordinary members of parliamentary groups which are involved with their former area of jurisdiction. The leaders of the groups now will look closer at recommendations and desires regarding a series of changes.

At yesterday's group meeting, which lasted about two hours, a series of additional subjects were discussed such as the abolition of eligibility waiting periods, the repeat proposal of a recommended social restoration, an OD [profit sharing]-model following "nearly the same principles as in 1979", the refugee problem, the bridge-tunnel problem, the missile affair, the wording in the text of the law for the tax reform, the Nordic area as a nuclear free zone, and European politics.

In the area of income taxes, the Social Democrats will work for an adjustment in subsistence allowance rates of five percent. The party is ready to help shipyards but is opposed to returning to leasing arrangements. Additionally, the party is skeptical about increasing the joint ship-ownership level to over ten.

POLITICAL

DENMARK

MESSAGE FROM RADICAL LIBERALS' CONGRESS OF STABLE SUPPORT

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 17 Sep 85 p 10

[Editorial: "Continued Support"]

[Text] It was the debate concerning TV-2 which enlivened the national congress of the Radical Liberal Party. No other issue--not even the issue of payment by employees of the first day of sick leave--gave rise to such an animated debate. Niels Helveg Petersen's calm and factual account of the party's position on everyday political issues was accepted without any signs of concern or uncertainty among the party delegates. Even if the debate on the television issue was predominant, this was perhaps equally important.

The Radical Liberal Party, which, in the past, was engaged in a historic co-operation with the Social Democratic Party, has now for 3 years been the party which has been in a position to provide the government parties with a majority, and which has given the government this support in its economic recovery policy. It is true that it has troubled and given problems to the government that, after the change of government, the Social Democrats were in a position to include the Radical Liberal vote when establishing a majority outside the government in the foreign policy and security policy areas. The Radical Liberal Party has never been, and probably never will be, a party that is able to support the policy advocated by the government parties in these areas. The government parties have had to yield to this majority. The Radical Liberals have also in other areas taken various opportunities to demonstrate that they represent a party which, under the given circumstances, has influence and power.

It has, however, been of decisive importance that the Radical Liberal Party has given stable support to the government parties in their economic policy and the measures incorporated in their economic recovery policy. This position was not attacked at the national congress, which, on the contrary, gave its support to the policy which has been pursued and the main content of which will predominate for a long time to come. The reason may be that--long before the change of government--the Radical Liberal Party demanded a policy along these guidelines, and that they have to be content with the content of the government's program. The reason may also be that the Social Democrats as government party turned their backs on the wishes of the Radical Liberal Party

and that the Social Democrats in opposition demand an economic policy which is unacceptable to the Radical Liberals. The Radical Liberals have realized that the Social Democratic Party is unable to govern the country, and they have taken the consequences.

This message from the national congress of the Radical Liberal Party contributes to ensure political stability, which is a prerequisite for the success of the policy pursued by the government. Unless there is a distinct majority also in the coming session of the Folketing in support of adhering to the policy pursued by the government, uncertainty will develop, and this may jeopardize the results that have been achieved. This is equally important as the support on the part of the Radical Liberal Party of advertising on the TV screen--a support based on wishes which may not be widely shared.

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DENMARK

## SINGLE-TAX PARTY SEEN NEAR SPLIT OVER NUCLEAR ARMS ISSUE

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 16 Sep 85 p 6

[Article by RB]

[Text] The Single-Tax Party was close to a split last Sunday at its national congress at Aalborg when the party had to take a position on the issue of deployment of nuclear arms in Denmark.

Under its present security policy program, the Single-Tax Party opposes deployment of nuclear arms in times of peace. A number of members want this to be expanded to comprise times of war as well.

This caused a vehement debate, during which a few delegates who had been members of the party for many years threatened to leave the party if the change in the program would be adopted.

It did not happen. The result of the vote was 65 against and 44 supporting the change.

Other items on the agenda of the national congress were a health program and a youth policy program. The party wants acupuncture, among other things, to be covered under the health insurance program. The Single-Tax Party, moreover, finds that the number of patients of general practitioners ought to be reduced.

Under its youth policy program, the party proposed, among other things, that state educational subsidies become equivalent to old-age pensions. It also proposed the commencement of construction of housing for young people to relieve the high unemployment rate among young people.

At its national congress at Aalborg the Single-Tax Party strongly opposed the current efforts to create an EC union, which was not unexpected.

In a resolution adopted at the national congress the Single-Tax Party stated that Denmark cannot join a European union without a referendum and an amendment of the Constitution.

"The EC will become a new superpower, and Denmark will become reduced to an insignificant member state," the resolution says.

Prior to the adoption of the resolution, the delegates assembled had discussed, among other things, the participation of the Single-Tax Party in the Anti-EC Movement. Apparently, most of the people were content with the party's participation in the Anti-EC Movement. A few, however, were particularly opposed to the too great power which the Communists, in their opinion, had in the movement.

The former chairman of the Single-Tax Party, Ib Christensen, is a member of the EC Parliament, elected by the Anti-EC Movement, and one speaker said that the Communists take the honor for Ib Christensen's work.

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SCHLUTER GIVES ASSESSMENT OF GOVERNMENT'S RECORD

'Schluter Optimism' Buoys Conservatives

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Aug 85 p 9

[Article by Ole Dall: "Poul Schluter at Conservative Party Summer Rally: The Four-Leaf Clover Has Taken Root for Good" The expression "four-leaf clover" refers to the four party coalition that makes up the government.]

[Text] A decisive change has taken place in economic policy, and now people dare to plan 10-15 years in the future, maintains the prime minister at the conservative party summer rally in Soro.

"It is much more difficult to give a wedding speech than a political speech."

This opinion comes from the country's prime minister, who got a serious chance this weekend to test his talents in the art of speaking. In his wedding speech on Saturday evening, he gave good advice to his daughter Anne Marie, and yesterday when the audience was 400-500 citizens in the Academy Gardens in Soro, Poul Schluter took stock of the "four-leaf clover."

The prime minister and the rally participants could take pleasure in that both the rain and hecklers stayed away. The well-known "Schluter optimism" was preached while sailboats glided by on the lake:

"The four-leaf clover did not end up a May fly. The four-leaf clover has now put down roots for good in Denmark, and our opposition must use hundreds of millions in an attempt to weed it out.

A decisive change has taken place in economic policy. Interest rates have been halved, we went to war against inflation--we are about to win this war--and unemployment is truly falling. Best of all, people now dare to plan 10-15 years in the future," Schluter said before he maintained the following about Denmark's relationship with NATO and the Common Market:

"It is important that we think through how colossally important it is for us to belong to an alliance that safeguards our security. No one should raise doubts about Denmark's continued membership in NATO. Nor should anyone doubt that the center of gravity of our economic cooperation is our membership in

the Common Market. This entails obligations and ties. We shall not give up independent views. Not at all. But if we refuse to budge on our views, then we risk becoming isolated. We isolate ourselves."

At the same conservative rally, the youngest member of the Folketing, Connie Hedegaard, commented on Ritt Bjerregard's statement that the social democrats should not "be down at the mouth."

"The explanation for her statement is surely that Ritt Bjerregard and the other chief social democratic ideologists of the 1970's are not all that unhappy when they consider today what they started back then. Many norms and morals were broken down without putting anything in their place. Children and young people were made unprepared by declaring that common knowledge was rubbish and unnecessary and then telling them that they should be critical. But if one does not at the same time give them premises with which to put forward alternatives, criticism becomes barren and destructive," Connie Hedegaard said.

#### Challenges in Counties and Municipalities

Frederiksborg Mayor Bent Lober thought that under the present government the municipalities and counties have been given "challenges compared to earlier when there was free admittance to the treasury." As part of the free municipality experiment, he suggested that the municipalities and communes should try having the responsibility for welfare payments to the unemployed. "This way more jobs would be created locally," said Bent Lober.

#### Leading 'Evolution' of Society

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 28 Aug 85 p 7

[Interview with Prime Minister Poul Schluter by Carl Otto Brix: "The Prime Minister Will Go of His Own Accord--But It Will Take a While"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Prime Minister Poul Schluter's dream of leaving politics was just a dream. Now the voters and a sense of duty bind him to his post, and in his opinion the four-leaf clover government will remain in power a long time yet.

Prime Minister Poul Schluter does not want to remain so long at his post that he will have to be carried out of the ministry.

"I would like to be able to go down the stairs by myself," he says, "but that will not be for many years. The four-leaf clover government will be in power a long time yet. We still have a job to do."

[Question] Aren't you as prime minister and party chief of the successful conservative people's party afraid of being made into a guru?

[Answer] I have thought and reflected on the unpleasant idea that the conservative people's party's popular success should to a great degree be

based on one person. But I am reassured because we have teamwork. We have teamwork between our eight ministers, and we have teamwork within the large party representation in the Folketing.

[Question] Which is the most quiet of them all?

[Answer] Yes, and that must mean that we manage best. The conservative people's party's members are the most cautious with respect to making comments and giving off signs of unrest.

[Question] Will society be changed in its very foundations by the management of the bourgeois parties that have lead the country for three years?

[Answer] What we are experiencing is neither an ideological clash with nor a fundamental change of the society we took charge of three years ago. That would indeed be a great mistake. It has nothing to do with revolution but with evolution--development.

We have already had good results both in terms of economics and attitude. From despondency and anxiety over the future to self-confidence and courage and faith in the future. We draw ourselves up and say: Of course Denmark can handle the problems.

#### Anxious About the Ideologists

[Question] As the present prime minister you have said that ideology is rubbish. Isn't a fundamental attitude absolutely necessary when one is involved in politics?

[Answer] A personal conviction is very much necessary, but from my early youth I have been skeptical and apprehensive of the idea of ideology. It leads easily to dogmatism and spiritual stagnation. I think it is exciting to read Karl Marx and Adam Smith because they are thinkers on a high level. But I have never imagined that society should be organized according to something that was thought out a hundred years ago.

A constant development is taking place. Each generation must formulate itself anew. Therefore it is not unusual that we in the conservative people's party should adopt a policy that is different from that of the conservative politicians in the twenties, thirties and fifties.

Our fundamental attitude is based on the idea that we are all different. There must be room for the individual to realize his own life. Some like to work and slave twelve hours a day--I am afraid that I myself am one of them--while others prefer to stroll through life. That should be their right, but we must reward the diligent and industrious.

There must never be the kind of equality where he who would rather stroll gets as much out of it as he who toils.

[Question] It could be that the stroller strolls because he can not find a job that he can work and slave away at?

[Answer] That is a real problem that must be solved.

[Question] Only five years ago as party chief of the conservative people's party you said that you would like to leave politics. It turned out otherwise?

[Answer] I had a dream, and we all have a right to dreams. After many years of effort in opposition politics I felt that I needed a change, but since then I have become a full-time politician--not a professional politician.

[Question] What's the difference?

[Answer] I have an education, and my many years as a lawyer have given me an insight into the conditions of business life. I have the right to try cases before the supreme court. In other words, I have something to fall back on. I am not dependent on the political existence. I have never wanted to be, just as I have also always wanted to be independent of organizations.

Not Just a Parenthetical Period

[Question] When then is the time to quit?

[Answer] I will remain in politics. Anything else would be to desert the majority of voters who are bourgeois and who voted for a bourgeois government.

It has been shown that there is an alternative to a social democratic government, and it should not just be a parenthetical period in our political history. The four-leaf clover must accomplish its task, and that requires that it remain in power for many more years.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

INCREASED COMMUNIST SUPPORT FOR PSF URGED BY DISSIDENT

Paris RENCONTRES COMMUNISTES HEBDO in French 13 Jun 85 pp 1-2

[Article by Eddy Kenig]

[Text] By conducting a campaign for "a communist vote in favor of the Socialist Party" in the next legislative elections, RENCONTRES COMMUNISTES HEBDO was bound to arouse varied reactions among its readers.

In fact, the communists have always been quite diverse. But through its structure and operations, the Communist Party managed, at the cost of a continual effort, to unify its approach, indeed to make its thinking uniform. The moral authority and confidence enjoyed by the party leadership played a large role in this process.

With the cadre having disappeared, or having been considerably eroded as is the case with our readers, it is the extreme dispersion of opinions which prevails.

Alongside numerous approbations, we find criticism in different shapes and forms at which it is appropriate that we take a look. Some feel we should follow through a line of which they approve and integrate with the Socialist Party, while others, who are more numerous in expressing themselves, warn us against a Social Democratic logic or more forthrightly condemn an attitude judged to be too complaisant with respect to the current government.

Perhaps the primary difficulty consists in admitting that the representation of the revolutionary current of the workers' movement does not inevitably pass through a communist party and to draw therefrom all the consequences.

For dozens of years while we were examining the French situation "a la communist," from the viewpoint of immediate interests and the future of the workers, the ideas and activities of the PCF [French Communist Party] were a positive and efficient element of the landscape. All this historical capital was squandered in a very short time.

For our part, we once nourished the thought that in France there was room for a Eurocommunist force to play an autonomous role in the political sector. Some of our friends maintain that we went about it the wrong way. The fact remains that the result of the European [elections] gave the lie to this hypothesis and that we know of no credible champion of such an undertaking.

We could of course beat our breasts over this failure, but it is not a theoretical argument. It seemed more useful to try to make a contribution of the experience and communist values, recognized as valid after an inventory, to the real battle under way which is that of the political government.

Can we seriously maintain today that return of the country's leadership to direct representatives of big capital is not of importance to the workers?

As the Right is induced to disclose its plans, the thesis of the equivalence of its policy with that followed by the government of the Left will take a beating.

We could argue for a long time about whether in such and such sector of government action the glass is half empty or half full. The fact remains that the accomplishments and the potential for additional progress justify from one communist point of view an in-depth commitment to maintain the government of the Left in 1986.

Some reproach RECONTRES COMMUNISTES HEBDO for an unconditional, indeed "politicking", support of everything the government does. I believe that we were right even at the cost of a few excesses to oppose the method of critical bias or distrust. Thus, tagging the foreign policy of France on all counts with the label of Atlantist seems to me not to be in line with the reality of a complex initiative whose major concern is independence. Similarly, the fuss made about "denationalization" on the occasion of a statement by a minister betrays the policy of consolidation of the nationalist sector effectively undertakes.

In this commitment to have France remain to the Left after 1986, a PCF solely concerned with having the socialist government defeated becomes an adversary. Therefore, we must turn to the only political party capable of conducting this combat, namely the Socialist Party.

We must, therefore, relativize and in a way laicize the bases of this choice and, consequently, remove the affective, indeed fideist, connotations which for many in the past characterized membership in the activities of the Communist Party.

As it is only a political answer to a political question--in a given context--the path chosen is nonetheless important immediately and also in the perspective of a recomposition of the workers' movement which is in disarray because of old splits.

How to intervene as democratic communists if not by addressing the conscience of communist voters who, attached to the same values as we, may be alienated by the totally negative influence of the Communist Party. Therefore, the way the alienated members of the PCF, which constitutes 10 percent of the electoral body, are going to vote could play a decisive role in the outcome of election.

If they take refuge in abstention, that is if they revert to their previous voting pattern, the Socialist Party will find itself in too weak a position to

constitute the pole around which the majority may be constructed; and the door will be open for the Right.

In 1981 these voters almost spontaneously demonstrated their clairvoyance, against the sectarian policy of the PCF; therefore, we can envisage with confidence what will happen next year.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

### HINCKER VIEWS ROCARD POSITION IN PSF

Paris RENCONTRES COMMUNISTES HEBDO in French 20 Jun 85 p 2

[Article by Francois Hincker]

[Text] LIBERATION's long interview with Michel Rocard on 22 May permitted us to become acquainted with his thoughts in depth. It is preferable to treat them as such rather than to speculate once again on Michel Rocard's candidacy in the 1988 presidential election. In effect, the launching of his presidential candidacy at this time is incongruous for a man of the Left and does not create better possibilities for the Left's victory in the 1986 legislative elections.

In my opinion, this interview enabled us to observe the three faces of Michel Rocard.

1. The Ideologue. There was no surprise in this sector: Michel Rocard again takes up the analyses of the "second Left": in French society, there is a great demand for autonomy; the state cannot do everything; that which is small scale generally is more effective in a period of change than that which is large scale; the French administration does not know how to reason over the long term; the French people are permeated by extremely contradictory aspirations (contradiction between aspiration for freedom and aspiration for equality, contradiction between appeal to the state and great sensitivity to the tax system, etc.). These analyses are just: does that mean the sole fact of analysis, something everyone should do, is sufficient to classify one as Leftist? Does that mean the integration of these analyses into a political statement is incompatible with the constitutive references of socialism?

2. The Socialist. This is the central point of the LIBERATION interview, which was designed basically to be the Rocardian contribution to the next PS [Socialist Party] congress. On the one hand, this contribution appears to be relatively marginal: Rocard proposes that the PS adjust its words to match its deeds. Who would not be in favor of that? This does not constitute an alternative platform and is not even sufficiently different. On the other hand, this contribution seems to be radically "revisionist": "I am not ready to give priority to the problem of the social rank and file because the major questions which cut across French society cut across all the social groups." Of course, but is this new, at least during a period of crisis and changes? On the other hand, everything indicates that social polarizations have always structured and

and continue to structure--from an overall viewpoint, of course--the major systems of answers to these questions. "Revisionism" also in the provocative thought that "public opinion intuitively perceives that political programs are a surrealist commodity" and "that the socialists should repudiate the myth bearers." Those obsessed with amendment battles, with the substitution of battles of words for real battles--the victims of myths cannot but applaud... Yes, but how do we explain the really popular appeal of politicians as fiercely reactionary as Reagan and Thatcher if not by the fact these politicians, surely reactionaries, seem to be the bearers of a program, and are really this program, while their opposition has no program which is credible? One does not set policy without a certain perspective and a perspective which goes beyond the economic sector.

3. The Man of Government, recent and potential. This is the area in which Michel Rocard's weakness seems most glaring and is the strangest thing about a man who has such big plans. "What would be the key points of the government compact?" (according to the wishes of Michel Rocard, of course). He answers by giving an enumeration which exactly repeats the objectives of the policy now being followed. To a question on the strategy for 1986, he answers like the last management committee of the PS (with the difference it is true that he does not dare use the word "compromise," quite logically, I might add): "Any other hypothesis than that of a return pure and simple to the opposition requires that the socialists begin by stating clearly what they want and under what conditions when the time comes they will propose a government compact." Finally, the only differences which retrospectively Michel Rocard regrets not having introduced into the economic policy of the present government have punctilious nuances that are not negligible but also are not essential: a more rapid drop in interest rates, a decrease (perhaps...) in taxes on companies, a lesser obsession with the budgetary deficit.

An outside observer of these PS debates but one who is concerned about the victory of the Left can only rejoice at seeing confirmation that essentially there is effectively no other policy possible. But do attachment to intellectual analyses which have now been stripped of their originality and a theoretical conception of socialism quite different from the norm prevalent in the French Left justify so many fireworks and publicity about a government departure at a time when political solidarity, which is still the essential, is obvious? This interview shows quite well why Michel Rocard, no matter what, is in the final analysis still condemned to loyally returning to the house of the PS: he cannot remain for long on an alternative course that really does not exist. We are tempted to say: great!

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

CPSU PRESSURE ON PCF OVER EUROCOMMUNISM DETAILED

PM160940 Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Sep 85 p 7

["P.J." Report: "How Moscow Made Marchais Toe the Line"]

[Text] Publisher Oliver Orban this week publishes a new book by "Jean Fabien"--the pseudonym for one of several former or current members of the PCF leadership. In November 1984, under the title "Kremlin-PCF, Secret Conversations," this author published notes by Jean Kanapa, former PCF Foreign Policy Section chief, who died in 1978, on events in Czechoslovakia in 1968, on relations between PCF leaders and the Soviets, and on internal debates in the PCF at that time. Those notes showed that the PCF leadership feared a break with the CPSU at that time and scaled down its criticisms after the Red Army's intervention in Czechoslovakia accordingly.

"The War of the Comrades" is the sequel to this story. "Jean Fabien" tells how from 1973 the PCF tried to dissociate itself from the Soviets and move closer to the Italian Communists. According to the author, Georges Marchais, secretary general in practice since Waldeck Rochet's illness in 1969 and officially since December 1972, and Jean Kanapa had to face internal pro-Soviet opposition, led by Roland Leroy, then a member of the Central Committee Secretariat. "Since the signing of the joint program," he writes, "Roland Leroy had decided to be the leader of the dissidents in the party."

Following the signing of the joint government program by the PCF, the PS, and the Left Radicals in June 1972, Mr Marchais and his friends wanted to prepare their party for possible election victory and the exercise of power. The presidential election in 1974, brought forward by Georges Pompidou's death, gave them the opportunity to speed up that process by supporting Francois Mitterrand's candidacy in the first round of the election and preparing for an extraordinary congress to modernize the party in the wake of the election.

The Soviets reacted by officially showing their support between the two rounds for Valery Giscard d'Estaing, whom their ambassador visited, and by supporting the Chilean coup in September 1973 to show that the French Communists' hope of winning power through elections was in vain. At the same time the Portuguese Communists were launching a revolutionary attempt which may have seemed promising. In September 1974 parliamentary by-elections were to show that the PS was benefiting from the union at the PCF's expense.

Mr Leroy, who presented the draft resolution at the October 1974 congress, was thus able to "hijack" that congress and turn it into an aggressive congress "closing the door" to the PS. At the same time he became editor of L'HUMANITE--a strategic PCF leadership post. Mr Marchais and Jean Kanapa prepared their counterattack for the next congress in February 1976, characterized by criticism of lack of democracy in the Eastern bloc countries and by the abandonment of the notion of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time relations with the Italian and Spanish parties had been developed with a view to forming a "Eurocommunist" focus.

This was when the Soviet made a specific threat, according to "Jean Fabien." An envoy from Moscow, whose identity is not specified, was received at PCF headquarters in mid-February 1977. He threatened the PCF leadership with a split in the party if the "Eurocommunist summit" between Santiago Carrillo, Georges Marchais, and Enrico Berlinguer in Madrid in early March ended with a statement questioning Soviet policy. The three leaders were cautious but in March the Soviets sent the PCF another warning to toe the line--a letter which "Jean Fabien" publishes--then another letter condemning the communists' decision in May to support the French strike force.

According to the author, Mr Marchais, frightened by the prospect of being "fired" as Nikita Khrushchev had been in Moscow in 1964, submitted. He broke the left union and realigned his party with the Soviet Union to save his job as secretary general.

Questioned about "Jean Fabien's" new book Wednesday 11 September, Mr Leroy described it as a "phantasmagoria." The previous book by the same author seemed to cast doubt on Mr Marchais, portrayed as the man who "normalized" the PCF after Waldeck Rochet's condemnation of the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. This time the PCF secretary general is portrayed instead as the man who tried to emancipate his party but did not have the courage to carry it through.

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POLITICAL

FRANCE

PCF LEADER INTERVIEWED AT L'HUMANITE FESTIVAL

PM191343 Paris L'HUMANITE in French 16 Sep 85 p 4

[Pierre Ivorra report: "We Want a World Without Arms"]

[Text] As it has every year for the past 10 years, the French Television Channel 1 [TF1] news program came direct from La Courneuve [site of the L'HUMANITE festival] on Saturday [14 September] and, as has become traditional, the guest was Georges Marchais.

Sitting opposite Yves Mourousi and Pierre-Luc Seguillon, the PCF secretary general started by commenting on the badge worn by the TF1 presenter announcing forthcoming changes in L'HUMANITE: "New look on the 7th; the October renovation." "Our newspaper must be adapted to the age in which we are living, and to the readers' wishes." What is the communists' current objective? The two journalists asked. And Georges Marchais replied: "It is to prevent the right from regaining power. This conflicts with the aim of the PS, which is already assuming that the right will win. We say: 'No, nothing is settled provided there is a change of policy.' The right's main trump card is the present policy, with which the French people are dissatisfied."

Are you disappointed with the PS? Yves Mourousi asked. "When you think of the promises which were made for years by Francois Mitterrand and the PS," Georges Marchais replied..., "When you think that they had complete power in 1981..., the French people have every reason to be very disappointed with the PS."

Is there a difference between Barre's political program and that of Fabius? Pierre-Luc Seguillon asked. "Essentially there is no contradiction between their policies," the PCF leader said, and he then gave his opinion on what some people refer to as "cohabitation."

"The present policy is not inevitable," he said, "it is a policy which serves big capital, and it is possible to act differently.... We must change policy. We are going to do battle with proposals which we are going to adopt at our national conference for steering the country out of the crisis.... The French people must mobilize, take action, and struggle, and they must support the PCF. The PCF is now the big political force, indeed, the only one which is really struggling to ensure that the promises made are kept."

What does the secretary general think of flexible working practices? "It is a serious threat to all workers.... The government is anticipating [French employers' leader] Gattaz' wishes, but Gattaz wants more and more. The aim is quite simply to destroy everything the workers' movement has achieved over decades of struggle in the sphere of social protection, democracy, and freedom in the enterprise."

The discussion then turned in particular to relations between the PCF and the CPSU following the meeting this summer between Mikhail Gorbachev and Georges Marchais. "We both think that capitalism has had its day," Georges Marchais stated. "Capitalism is old and obsolete. We need something new. We need socialism."

The communist leader then stressed that there are also differences between the two parties relating to the two countries' history and situations. "The French brand of socialism will be different" from the kind which exists in the Soviet Union.

There are also disagreements. For instance, the disagreement in 1968 on Czechoslovakia: "With regard to human rights, when questions are raised in the USSR and we do not agree, we say so."

"I have read everything that was written about the meeting with the CPSU. People said: 'Gorbachev bawled out Marchais, he said: You must be nicer to Francois Mitterrand.' If Gorbachev had said that to me, I would have given him a piece of my mind! He did not. That is because we do not discuss questions relating to France's domestic policy at international meetings of this kind." Georges Marchais concluded by stressing that the statement issued with the CPSU "is very good, probably the best we have drawn up with the Soviets."

With regard to the publication of a book on the PCF signed with the pseudonym Fabien, Georges Marchais said: "Like all politicians I receive anonymous letters. I never read them; my secretary throws them away. Consequently I do not read anonymous books either."

"If this book claims that it was on the Soviets' instructions that we broke the joint program in 1977, it is rather strange who broke the program at the time if not the PS? Who refused to update the program...? When we left the government in 1984 we did so quite simply because the situation had become untenable! Can you see a party like ours supporting a policy of enterprise closures, waste, sackings, reduction in purchasing power, and so forth? Consequently say that it is ridiculous to claim that we took that decision on anybody's instruction."

With regard to Francois mitterrand's trip to Mururoa, Georges Marchais stressed that the PCF wants France "to have the means of defending itself" and to have a "policy of peace and disarmament." "We cannot be satisfied with the French Government's policy 'in this sphere.' It is doing nothing. Instead it is contributing to the development of the arms race."

Questioned on Greenpeace, Georges Marchais said: "The ecologists are right. We too want a world without arms and without war."

A journalist then questioned him on the Eureka plan. Georges Marchais replied: "Eureka is supposed to be aimed at using the fantastic scientific and technical resources which exist for space...." "I have reservations because I think that Eureka will have military repercussions linked to the American Strategic Defense initiative--Reagan's star wars."

He added: "Nobody can yet assess what benefit man can derive from space. The question posed is this: Do you want the space research to be limited to the EC countries? Or do you want all countries and all governments to take part in that research to place the vast resources which exist in the service of man, to combat famine, and to promote health?"

Georges Marchais then noted that he had met--at her request--with Mrs (Kauffman), the wife of the French journalist taken hostage in Lebanon. "We are taking action to secure her husband's release in our own way and with the means at our disposal."

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POLITICAL

FINLAND

## DEBATE ON ATTITUDES TOWARD USSR FLARES

### Professor Examines 'Antisovietism' Charges

Helsinki KANAVA in Finnish No 6, 1985 pp 359-361

[Commentary by Osmo Jussila: "'Antisovietism'--What is It?"]

[Text] To the scholar of the Soviet Union, antisovietism is as senseless a concept as "antirockism" is to the geologist. Anyone studying the Soviet Union gets labeled once or more often or permanently as "antisoviet" unless he is an opportunist alertly sniffing the ideological winds of Moscow, in which case he is no longer a scholar.

Antisovietism, it has been reported, has again appeared in Finland. The matter is considered and antisovietisms copied. This time it is not a question of the usual evening song of TIEDONANTAJA--to which we are accustomed--instead it is being mulled over by the "peaceniks," presidential commentators, and the party press left of the center. The spirit of a wolf hunt is in the air. Kuiskaaja of HELSINGIN SANOMAT has already managed to christen Ruokola the McCarthy of Finland. What is identical with earlier events, so familiar from previous hunts, is that the term "antisoviet" has again been swallowed whole, we have once again fallen into the trap of clever Soviet propaganda. In a radio interview the critical Erkki Tuomioja managed to get out of a question about where the line is drawn between favorable criticism and antisovietism, by cleverly remarking that the elephant is hard to describe, but everyone recognizes it on the street. But he did not, for a moment, doubt that he had seen an elephant.

The concept "antisovietism" (antisovjetizm) was born and created in the Soviet Union during the 1920's. It meant all the opposition and resistance to the new and different Soviet system born in 1917, especially outside the USSR, but also within it. This is how it was written up in the paper KOMMUNISTI in 1965: "Antisovietism, which is an intentional and organized fight against the world's first socialist state, the USSR, has received a central place in the imperialistic and reactionary ideology and politics of the world since the great October socialist revolution."

Antisovietism is said to have been born as a reaction by the capitalist world to the creation of the Soviet system, but along with the evolution of socialism, this "antisovietism" has also changed. The antisoviet propaganda strove at

first, during the years following the October revolution, to depict socialism as a strictly negative, destructive, unnatural, purely Russian, but transient phenomenon. Since then the forms have developed and been refined. However, the standard forms of antisovietism were already developed in the 1920's and 1930's, which, according to the author are: "the libeling of the Soviet system, the denial of the democratic nature of the socialist state, talk of the 'dictatorship of the communist party,' the 'utopianism' of the economic plans for building the socialist state, the 'hostility' of communism toward individualism."

In this original meaning of the word, the bulk of the Finns are antisoviet, because they do not support the Soviet system -- although they do not strive to overthrow it either -- but have, with their votes, expressed their support for the Finnish way of life. However, we must distinguish those among the opponents and supporters of the Soviet system who oppose or support the system in its ideal form or as it has in fact been realized in the USSR. The system does not, of course, exist outside the USSR, since the people's democracies do not have soviets, although in practice, the Communists have all the power. The ideal type would be a true democracy of the workers' and peasants' soviets, the return to which the Kronstadt mutineers demanded in 1912. The actualized real socialistic Soviet system is one in which the soviets have been subordinated as part of the "intermediate organization" as tools for the party and its central organ to manipulate the people in whatever direction necessary.

When you are being accused of antisovietism, it is worthwhile to ask first whether the accuser means opposition to the real system, that is, the dictatorship of a single party, or opposition to true soviet democracy.

When we use the word "antisoviet" in its original, narrow sense, such additions as "Russia hate" or "Russia-baiting," Russia opposition, opposition to the czar or czarism, the criticism of or opposition to the foreign policy of the USSR or its cultural phenomena do not belong among them, because it is possible to criticize and oppose all of these without opposing the Soviet system itself, just as one could oppose the Vietnam policies of the United States and at the same time support the American social system.

The question thus is of criticizing the new system, not the country, people or its separate culture. The question is about doubting the utopianism, the cause, about its support and opposition, the support of an ideology, against doubters, critics and mockers. Because of this the attitude toward the USSR has been unusual compared to the attitudes toward other countries with more similar ideologies as, e.g., Sweden, England or France. Thus there is no comparable anti-Swedishism or anti-Britishism. Anti-Americanism there is, but this is due to their missionary ideology -- the missionary work of a puritanical democracy.

The kind of antisovietism which is now being hunted in Finland most often has very little to do with the original content of the concept. The antisovietism now being hunted is the expression of such information, opinion or idea about the USSR which, in the opinion of the hunter himself or some behind-the-scenes group, would be harmful to the official policy of friendship between the USSR and Finland.

A new religion, and especially a sect of such a religion -- and bolshevism was a sect of the Russian social democrats -- is always very sensitive to and intolerant of outside criticism. There is no favorable, well-meaning criticism, nor could there be, but all is, according to the definition, anti-, antisovietism. Soviet Russia, then the USSR, felt itself to be surrounded by a hostile world, and the fortification of the true religion, this siege mentality, the feeling of being surrounded, has not, even by the victory of the second World War, been much ameliorated.

The concepts "antisovjetism" and "antikommunism" became propaganda weapons, the content of which changed flexibly according to the changes in the USSR's internal conflict situation and on the international scene. They became effective labels for the pinpointing and marking of whoever was considered to be the enemy at the time. The labeling power was wielded by whoever was in charge in the USSR. Besides the servants and agents of imperialism, many others found themselves to be antisoviets, among whom were included not only the Mensheviks and the SR's [Socialist Revolutionaries], but most of the so-called old bolsheviks, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Kameniev, Rykov, Tomsky, etc. After the second World War, Tito changed overnight, not only into an antisoviet, but altogether into a fascist. And the most loyal of the loyal arms bearers, Molotov, was spared the charge of antisovietism only by Stalin's death. The indictment process had already been started. This was told to posterity by Ivan Maisky.

The directions for what at any particular time should be considered antisoviet still come from Moscow. They have been followed most closely in Finland by the TIEDONANTAJA group. The eager assistants outside the group could have difficulties if exact directions are not readily available. It could be that they would go and label as antisoviet a person to whom Moscow has already decided to give the Lenin prize. That which is to be antisoviet is not decided in Finland. And supposing that a part of the authority to make decisions were to be delegated to Finland, then who would be the local decision maker, Ruokola or Sinisalo? Or would the parliament legislate guidelines in its peace legislation and then provide annual revisions?

The power of labeling, especially of those labels ending in "-ism," is great, and that has been recognized by the propagandists through the ages. Isms (izm), such as capitalism, communism, socialism, antisovietism, communicate an image of a united group, which is under the control of that -ism. If it is an anti-ism, then it shuts the labeled outside the correct ism and even bundles them together. The fettering influence of isms is well known in the world of science. The number of scholars of society who still wear the fetters of feudalism is by no means small. In spite of this one must marvel at the power of labeling. When it is launched and the label sticks, we politely align ourselves in rows as sheep and goats, as antisoviets or party supporters. The goats bleat a little in opposition, but no one questions the rationality of the ranking procedure.

This would require some anti-citizen, such as Jorn Donner. Some years ago he was again admitted into the headlines by confessing, "But I am an antisoviet." And lo, the oath worked. After that he has been left in peace. Why bother

any more, for he has confessed. Most people are not as sophisticated, but keep on explaining and entangling themselves even worse.

Erkki Tuomioja wrote optimistically in his column in the ILTA-SANOMAT (4/15): "Information and its communication could not, in itself, be antisoviet." Incorrect -- not only can it be, but most often it is just that. In that propaganda war, in which "antisovietism" is one of the weapons, what is antisoviet is most often the simple facts, lists and names. Information is the worst kind of antisovietism because it is most difficult to refute. It is, for example, antisoviet to publish the original secret additional minutes of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact (not as German forgeries); it is also antisoviet to argue that the Revolution at Petrograd in October was led by Trotsky; it is somewhat less antisoviet than it was a little while ago to argue that even Stalin had some part in it, and that he did not simply wait by his father-in-law's samovar to see which way the power would fall, as some antisoviet Western scholars have claimed. It is antisoviet to write that on 30 November 1939 the USSR attacked Finland. To write about the Terijoki government and at the same time be sure that it would not be antisoviet, one should wait for an interpretation from Moscow. At this point the wait might take a while, for how does one interpret a matter which officially does not exist? It is unnecessary to continue a listing of "antisoviet" phenomena in the history of the USSR -- it is sufficient to note that the history of the USSR contains not only people, but events, that are antisoviet!

According to the previously mentioned "antisovietism" article in KOMMUNISTI, antisovietism includes, among others, the congruence theory -- in which case Pekka Kuusi from Finland gets added to the list -- the announcement of the peaceful coexistence of bourgeois and socialist ideology which again is leading most Finnish friendship politicians to ruin. According to the last-mentioned label, it is antisoviet to attempt to oppose the spread of Soviet propaganda and influence to Finland -- in which case this article is antisoviet. The principle is, however, even-handed, in that it is permissible to attempt to spread Finnish ideology from Finland (Finnish lifestyle?) to the USSR and it is not the fault of the USSR if their systems do not really want to receive it.

The entire irrationality of the arrangement, in which we here begin seriously to consider where the boundary between correct criticism and antisovietism might lie, is best revealed if we were to ask whether it would be better, in discussing Trotsky and Stalin, to correctly portray the role of Stalin in the foreign policy of the USSR, but not Trotsky's role.

This is what I meant in saying that antisovietism, as a concept, is as irrational to the scholar of the Soviet Union as "antirockism" is to the geologist. Anyone studying the Soviet Union gets to be labeled once or more often or even permanently as antisoviet, unless he is an opportunist alertly sniffing the ideological winds of Moscow, in which case he is no longer a scholar. An informal value exchange has evolved among the western Russian/Soviet Union scholars in which the highest score is given to those for whom the USSR has dedicated an entire book of criticism; the next level is composed of those who have been noted in one or two articles, and the third pariah class is composed of those whose name is associated only with critical remarks.

Satire Columnist Views 'Prosovietism'

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 11 Sep 85 p 19

[Commentary by Origo: "Suspicious Phenomena"]

[Text] Even high-ranking sources have recently paid attention to the fact that so-called "prosovietism" has increased alarmingly in our country.

The roots of prosovietism go back to the last century, even though soviets did not yet exist then. But when Alexander II raised Finland to the so-called "group of nations," some near-sighted individuals began to applaud.

The same state of affairs continued later as well. The Soviet Union was born. It is true, of course, that Lenin formally recognized Finland's independence, but naturally he always had at the back of his mind the thought of swallowing our country as soon as the first opportunity presented itself.

Lenin, of course, happened to die, but his work was continued by Stalin, and at the eleventh hour he succeeded. Prosoviet circles, you see, managed to block Finland from properly arming itself in the 1930's.

With the help of the brave German comrades-in-arms, all of Stalin's evil plans, however, were thwarted.

After the second World War a wave of prosovietism swept over our land. It was necessary to let the traitors out of their cages. The so-called YYA-agreement [Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Pact] was also signed, which from then on has created a permanent obstacle to realizing a true and real impartiality.

Today prosovietism is surprisingly many-sided. It is like the dragon of the fairytales; if you cut off one head, ten more grow in its place immediately.

Each year, hundreds of thousands of Finns, having become victims of propaganda, travel on tourist trips to the Soviet Union. As a result of efficient brainwashing, many might internalize prosoviet thoughts, and could, upon their return, spread them among the ignorant and susceptible youth.

One often sees articles from Soviet papers cited uncritically. Also, "travelers" arriving from the Soviet Union are without exception granted visas, without investigating at all what the real reason of their "trip" might be.

Prosovietism has even infiltrated our formerly nonpartisan judicial system. The freedom fighter Raivo Roosna and his companion were cruelly thrown into jail, although the boys' intention had been only to gather a little money for the advancement of human rights.

It is fortunate, however, that a movie epic now under preparation will probably do justice to these heroic figures.

Perhaps the most unfortunate aspect of the situation is that prosoviet features appear from time to time even among our nation's highest leadership. Even the president of the republic, not to mention the foreign minister, eagerly leaves for visits to the Soviet Union as soon as they bother to invite him for a visit.

It would be possible to tactfully decline such "invitations." One could be ill or have so much work or some other business to attend to. An obstacle can always be found if one really wants to.

12989  
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POLITICAL

FINLAND

FINNISH GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE ADOPTS SOUTH AFRICA TRADE GUIDELINES

Investment Limitations Proposed

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 31 Aug 85 p 2

[Editorial by Jan-Magnus Jansson]

[Text] The Finnish measures taken against South Africa should be considered as part of an international action which is political in nature and intended to achieve a political goal, i.e. to influence the South African government, writes Jan-Magnus Jansson. One may doubt whether this international solidarity will hold fast in certain powerful key countries, and one may also question whether the action is appropriate for the goal, but Finland's obligations are clear.

The crisis in South Africa continues to occupy the world's interest. Relations with South Africa are a basic theme of discussion in Finland as well. My impression is that the level of interest apparent at this time is more genuine and more broadly spread throughout society than at any time previously during the long time that the apartheid system has been in existence in South Africa.

According to Botha's speech (see commentary in HUFVUDSTADSBLADET 12 Aug), which at least put to an end hopes for immediate changes in the system. In the coming weeks the South African government is going to be subjected to trials and tribulations more intense than the incidents of unrest which plague the country at present. The first hurdle is due on September 1, when the black mine workers' strike is set to commence. If the strike does take place, it will not only harm the nation's economy, it will also put tough, grown men in the streets instead of the youths--often school truants--who have served as the main troops in the riots to date.

Another important date will be when the United States' Congress meets again to consider, among other things, proposed sanctions against South Africa. President Reagan still has the option of retaining the proposal, but one can hardly suppose that Botha's intractability has strengthened Reagan's possibilities for maintaining his personal position on the matter.

Finally, foreign ministers from the European Community are due to meet on September 10 to discuss measures against South Africa again. Meetings held in connection with the KSSE [Conference on Cooperation and Security in Europe (CSCE)] Anniversary in Helsingfors did not lead to any agreements. In particular, Great Britain and West Germany flatly refused to agree to sanctions against South Africa. The only thing they agreed to do was to recall their envoys from Pretoria for consultation. However, if London and Bonn should change their attitude, the situation of the Pretoria government could become much worse. The mood of the European Community meetings could also be influenced by the reports of the three member nations' foreign ministers who are presently visiting South Africa under the auspices of the Community.

By comparison, the measures taken by the Scandinavian countries, including Finland, are of only marginal significance. They do however serve as an indication of our country's evaluation of the requirements of the situation. We should therefore take a closer look at the measures we have taken and the motives behind them.

The idea that the measures taken against South Africa are a moral reaction to a situation which conflicts with our conception of basic human rights is often used as a starting point in the Finnish sanction debate. This viewpoint has been praised in those circles which have favored stronger reaction against apartheid policies for years. It was also the viewpoint expressed by Archbishop John Vikstrom--one of the people who is most familiar with the plight of the blacks in South Africa--in a recent pronouncement, one which is quite unique in the annals of our Lutheran state church. "It is not only South Africa's government which is up against the wall, but also our country, our government, and anyone else who engages in trade with South Africa or has other connections there," said Vikstrom. He also spoke ironically of the measures which our government is preparing, calling them "pure hypocrisy," because the government is still allowing trade to continue unhindered, and because national companies are involved in an expansion of our economic ties with the land of apartheid.

Vikstrom's outspoken behavior is satisfying if only because it is so very seldom that our Evangelical Lutheran church has assumed the churchman's traditional role as the chastiser of the prince. If one accepts the morality argument, the only possible conclusion is that measures should have been taken against South Africa long ago, and on a much larger scale.

However, the moral argument does have its flaws, the greatest of which is that Finland has, to as great an extent as other nations, reacted so little to numerous other instances where governments have oppressed their citizens in a shocking manner. The argument that the discrimination in South Africa is directed against the majority of the people has some validity. But it does not stand up too well against the fact that no measures were taken on our part against the mass murderers of Pol Pot's Cambodia, against Idi Amin's reign of terror in Uganda, or against political terrorists in Iran, to say nothing of other instances.

A less contradictory and more logical impression of the actions of Finland and other countries may be derived if one assumes that sanctions against South Africa are, like any other government actions, political, and intended to achieve political ends. One can then show that the opinion turnaround in the United States and, to some extent, the French actions which led to among other things, the UN Security Council's decision regarding voluntary sanctions against South Africa laid the groundwork, albeit shaky, for realistic hopes of influencing South Africa. As a Western country, Finland should for its part contribute to an international action of this type. It would be an act of solidarity with peoples whose values we share, and an international declaration of our stand.

We should take a closer look at the make-up of the entire action under consideration. One might wonder whether the sanctions are far-reaching enough to influence President Botha; one might also wonder whether possible concessions on the part of the white South African government would be acceptable initially, and whether anyone, be it in New York, Washington, Paris or anywhere else, has a plan for the transition to a multiracial society based on freedom and equality. Nevertheless, and despite the fact that serious action can be expected only if Great Britain and the United States take an active and prominent role, Finland's obligations in the matter are clear.

The government now intends to propose to the legislature--which must reach a five-sevenths majority in order to adopt the proposal--a relatively weak package of sanctions which would impede new Finnish investment in South Africa and put a halt to loans and the sale of technology, i.e. patents and licenses. Trade would remain unaffected, and the government's negotiations with industry have been fruitless in the most important sector, the forest industry, which made sales of over 250 million marks to South Africa in 1984. As is always the case whenever the desire to exhibit international solidarity meets the efforts of individual companies to apply pure business principles and employment considerations, the result is a complicated miasma. However, one must assume that the sanctions taken against South Africa will increase if the crisis there continues. Our goal should be to keep the measures taken by the Scandinavian countries on an even par, if possible.

Panel Agrees on Bill

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET IN Swedish 3 Sep 85 p 10

[Text] On Monday the government's Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs adopted general guidelines concerning a law regarding sanctions against South Africa. The law will forbid the granting of loans, participation in loan consortiums, leasing activities and patent sales.

The law also concerns the granting of general authority to undertake additional sanctions against South Africa, if such are decreed or decided by the cabinet. This law will make it possible for more general limitations of economic and other relations with South Africa to be made if and when developments in South Africa so demand, reports the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The authority which the law provides can be exercised under the conditions of the UN Security Council's recommendations, assuming that the measures in question do not break international trade regulations or the contractual obligations of the country in question.

Since the Security Council has already recommended a halt to investment in South Africa, such authority will be granted in connection with the institution of the law, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs indicates.

The Ministry of Trade and Industry intend to propose that control licenses be introduced so that the importation of fruit and preserves can be prohibited. Minister of Foreign Trade Jermu Laine and various economic organizations agreed last week on the control licensing and on other reductions in imports from South Africa. In keeping with the cabinet's general directive, official purchases from South Africa will be halted.

There are also plans afoot to take additional measures against South Africa. Such measures include a tightening of visa restrictions and further limitation of cultural and athletic ties; prohibition against atomic energy projects, importation of South African gold coins and against the sale of computer equipment to the police and the military; an increase in the humanitarian aid offered South African refugees, freedom movement workers and victims of apartheid policy; and also an increase in the support given those nations which border South Africa, i.e. the BADCC countries.

#### No Direct Loans

South Africa's decision on Sunday to pay back foreign loans over four months does not affect Finland. The Bank of Finland has made no direct loans to South Africa. On the other hand, Finland can participate in credit packages on the international market. However, no statistics on such packages are available, reports the Bank of Finland.

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POLITICAL

ICELAND

PEOPLE'S ALLIANCE SECRET REPORT ON PARTY PROBLEMS REVEALED

Parliamentarian on Earlier Study

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 21 Aug 85 p 9

Commentary by Staksteinar: "Crisis of the People's Alliance"

Text Svavar Gestsson has lead the People's Alliance for some years. During that time the following of the party has declined continuously and the number of those who think it desirable to be members of the party has also decreased. Professor Svanur Kristjansson recently published an article on the crisis of the People's Alliance in the periodical MANNLIF and his article made a great impression upon the leadership of the party. Staksteinar will briefly discuss today the reply by Steingrimur J. Sigfusson, People's Alliance MP, which was published in THJODVILJINN yesterday.

It is Declining Rapidly

The crisis of the People's Alliance is having its effect upon the psychologies of those few that still trust the party and pay membership dues. Party members are especially irritated when former party members begin to criticize the organization and mode of operations of the People's Alliance. And the first stone is taken up when critics come to the conclusion that the People's Alliance has been felled.

The article published by Professor Svanur Kristjansson, former member of the People's Alliance, in the periodical MANNLIF was especially irritating to the true believer supporters of Svavar Gestsson, who is now fighting for his political life after having lead the party to the abyss. Under the leadership of Gestsson, the People's Alliance Party has repeatedly fallen prey to misfortune. The party, which once had the solemn dream of uniting all leftists in the struggle against bourgeoisie forces now is happy to try to reduce the flight of its own party members.

## Consolation in the Past

As might be expected, THJODVILJINN has serious worries about the way that events have developed: the decline in the number of People's Alliance Party members has had a direct influence upon the number of the paper's subscribers. Two articles were published in the paper yesterday intended to answer the aforementioned article by Svanur Kristjansson. The author of the first of the two was Steingrimur J. Sigfusson, the youngest party MP, and he, like party chairman Svar Gestsson, is battling for his political life at home in his district. He ranges himself in defense of the chairman. Finnbogi Hermannsson takes a similar position in his article, and he is a member of the People's Alliance, as things stand now, but it is uncertain at this time how long he will remain so.

In his article, Steingrimur J. Sigfusson criticizes Kristjansson for referring to the public opinion polls for this year when he is discussing the poor position of the People's Alliance. The MP thinks it preferable to refer to the polls of last year which showed a 20 percent support for the party. It is to be sure understandable that Sigfusson would prefer to direct our thoughts to the past rather than to come to grips with the present. It would have been still better to go back to 1978, when the People's Alliance won a good victory and received 22.9 percent of the votes in the Althing elections, to prove that Kristjansson has taken the wrong view.

But although the MP has no faith in those public opinion polls indicating a poor position for the People's Alliance, it is clear that the party chairman has succeeded in reducing the following of the party by 50 percent in seven years, something that is an achievement in and of itself. Steingrimur J. Sigfusson would look past this.

Sigfusson responds strongly to Kristjansson's criticism and says, among other things: "I expect that very few will not feel offended with the conventional assertions of our political opponents on dissolution and the fear in the ranks of others. I have found all the more noteworthy how impatient some party members, and even those in positions of influence within the party, have become to provide negative evaluations of how things stand. It was once true that solidarity and likewise eagerness of the battle were part of that conception of strength and vigor that all political parties always strive to present to the public. Grandious statements about difficulties and crisis that arise one after the other, on the other hand, do little good." It can be seen from these words of the MP that, in spite of everything, he is unconvinced that everything is in decline within the People's Alliance. He is, on the other hand, against washing linen in public about disharmony and crisis.

## Ruined Trust

The People's Alliance stands before major political problems. The trust of the voters in its Althing delegates and in its chairman diminishes with each passing day. Something new may emerge at the national congress of the party that is soon to be held. Svar Gestsson intends to continue in office and many cannot accept this for natural reasons. For this reason, those dissatisfied are looking openly for someone who can turn the chairman out of office.

And that will have to happen in the end since things cannot continue as they have with the number of party supporters decreasing rapidly.

Some members of the People's Alliance are looking hopefully to Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, but it is doubtful that he is ready for the chairmanship. He has taken up his calling as a special peace emissary and that is a busy job. And it is also unlikely that Ragnar Arnalds would allow himself to be elected chairman of the People's Alliance again. Hjorleifur Guttormsson is no more in consideration than any other party Althing delegates, although many know that he is extremely dissatisfied with the party chairman.

#### Party Leadership Feud Discussed

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 5 Sep 85 p 9

Commentary by Staksteinar: "Changes in the People's Alliance Leadership"

Text Today Staksteinar will discuss the changes that have taken place in the leadership of the People's Alliance in recent years. The idea of a collective leadership has been rejected. One person holds the field now without taking counsel with the party. Voices are being heard in the People's Alliance saying that Svavar Gestsson should be thrown out of office at the party congress this autumn and Ragnar Arnalds chosen chairman again. Olafur Ragnar Grimsson waits in the wings.

#### Gestsson's Crisis

The statement of Olafur Ragnar Grimsson earlier in the year that the People's Alliance is in a crisis was received with little enthusiasm by other party leaders. A year has now passed since the statement and it has become clear that it is not only the party that is in a crisis but also the party chairman.

Some seven years ago, when Olafur Johannesson formed his last leftist government, people thought that the leadership of the People's Alliance was tolerably well chosen. At that time four persons, Svavar Gestsson, Ragnar Arnalds, Hjorleifur Guttormsson and Olafur Ragnar Grimsson worked together in a group and enjoyed the support of Ludvik Josepsson. These four were able to show their proficiency in national government for around five years. What was the results of this collaboration and what is the outlook for the People's Alliance leadership?

Olafur Ragnar Grimsson seems to a large degree to have retired. This autumn he will resume his old profession as a university teacher and in recent months he has worked actively to create peace in the world in cooperation with the national leaders of various countries, particularly in the third world. Hjorleifur Guttormsson still stands outside the political struggle, after the losses suffered by his heavy industry policy. He is little listened to within the People's Alliance Party and it is true to a certain extent that people pity him and leave him in peace for that reason. Ragnar Arnalds has stepped aside so that Svavar

Gestsson is now alone on the field in the People's Alliance. His solitude is not, however, peaceful. The chairman of the People's Alliance Party has, it seems, misgoverned his party and mismanaged its relations with the labor movement. Relations between him and the president of the National Icelandic Labor Association within the People's Alliance are becoming worse and worse. It is clear that the People's Alliance labor leaders are each going in their own directions according to where their interests lie and are not listening to the party chairman.

When he himself surveys his realm he sees enemies approaching him from all directions. On the march are Asmundur Stefansson and Throstur Olafsson, who have smashed the power of the People's Alliance as such in the labor movement. There is also Ragnar Arnalds, whom more and more party members think a natural choice for reelection as party chairman at the Autumn party congress. There is Olafur Ragnar Grimsson, whom some in the People's Alliance think of as the hope of the party for future years. There are, on the other hand, few who think it desirable for Svarar Gestsson to continue in office as chairman of the People's Alliance Party.

#### Collective Leadership Rejected

The collective leadership of young men in the People's Alliance party of seven years ago has been rejected, destroyed and dispersed. When the period of the People's Alliance in power came to an end it became clear that Svarar Gestsson would tolerate no others in the leadership of the People's Alliance. When he had driven away his former associates it emerged that he lacked the political strength to maintain the People's Alliance alone. Thus the People's Alliance is in the situation that it is in now.

It has been undeniably interesting to follow the efforts of Svarar Gestsson to push aside his comrades so that he alone could enjoy power. Undeniably such exertions remind one of Eastern European power struggles, where it has been the case more often than not that a collective rule has been taken up only to break down with one individual remaining in power. This is what has happened in the People's Alliance with the difference that the person remaining in power seems to have had a little difficulty with his single rule.

#### Secret Report Analyzed Decline

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 5 Sep 85 p 4

Article: "A Tedium, Undemocratic and Conservative System Party"

Text "The primary conclusions of the committee are that the problem that the party now has with young people is not confined to that age group and that we should rather be speaking of the party's problem with voters in general." The above quoted lines are a literal quotation from the report of a committee that was created by the administration of the People's Alliance on 29 July for the purpose of looking for answers to the question of why the People's Alliance has

little support among young people and how the party can reach them. The report was published in full in HELGARPOSTURINN the day before yesterday but was never intended to be published, according to what the members of the committee and Svavar Gestsson say.

It is also said in the report, which was produced by the so-called "mothers' committee," with particular contributions by Gudrun Helgadottir, Rannveiga Tryggvadottir and Kristina A. Olafsdottir, that: "The party is a tedious, undemocratic and conservative system party, which first and foremost squanders its powers on defending what is or what has been...The party has in the eyes of most deceived in claiming to fight for the better working conditions of wage earners...The People's Alliance must change its mode of operating: it must become more democratic, more open, more modern, etc."

The final words of the report are as follows: "There is no need to set up a false front. If a picture of an open, democratic party is conferred, one with an optimistic view of the future, a complete ideology and a clear policy, the party will then become that in fact."

Svavar Gestsson, chairman of the People's Alliance, had a seat on the committee but did not take part in its activities, except during the first meeting. He answers the severe criticism that emerged from the report in a HELGARPOSTURINN interview and says there, among other things, that the People's Alliance is unquestionably a democratic party and that it is "nonsense, absolute nonsense," that the party has deceived in struggling for the improved working conditions of working people. Gestsson said that he rejected the criticism in particular that the People's Alliance is a men's party. He does agree, however, that the party needs to be more vigorous in its actions. He rejects the charge that the party has established a false front and has not allowed itself to appear as it really is. Gestsson says in his own words: "Debate goes on continuously in all parties--vigorous discussion that will help us in achieving real successes in the future."

The THJODVILJINN front page interview of yesterday has Svavar Gestsson singing a different tune than was the case in the HELGARPOSTURINN interview. Gestsson says in the THJODVILJINN interview among other things: "These complaints tell their own tale about open and frank discussions among us of the People's Alliance...We have had a super abundance of grumbling but this does not change the fact that the discussion itself shows how unafraid we are to come to grips with the definite problems of the leftist movement."

The heading of the Gestsson interview is as follows: "Open discussion. Svavar Gestsson, chairman of the People's Alliance Party: we have never been afraid to come to grips with the problems of the leftist movement. Open discussion is unhindered by democratic ways of proceeding. Discussion frees positive power from its chains. It is a tail wind at sea."

The committee's report is published in toto on page 3 of THJODVILJINN, under the heading "The Grumbling Mothers' Committee." Oskar Guðmundsson, THJODVILJINN assistant editor, then published an article on "grumbling" yesterday under the

heading "Vigorous Discussion." It is stated there, among other things: "It is a happy thing that instead of making peace with dullness and insolence people are dealing with the problem, discussing the issues and looking for ways to make their movement more democratic, more open and to create an optimistic forward looking party."

Columnist Views Secret Report

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 7 Sep 85 p 9

Commentary by Staksteinar: "People's Alliance's Vital Issues"

Text The report of the so-called "Mothers' Committee" on the problems of the People's Alliance has drawn a certain amount of attention. It was HELGARPOSTURINN which published the report and this publication has given rise to great consternation in the ranks of the People's Alliance. The report is discussed by Staksteinar today and likewise the reactions of THJODVILJINN on the publication of the report. The conclusions of the report are that the People's Alliance is a tedious party and of little benefit to the public and the party leadership is accused of being power hungry. Accusations of this sort are serious and little of it will shore up the position of the party chairman, which was weak before, on the eve of the party national convention.

"Mothers' Committee"

Last 29 July the administration of the People's Alliance Party created a committee which was to analyze the problems and repudiation of the party. Special attention was to be paid to the fact that young people do not look upon the People's Alliance as a desirable choice. The "Mothers' Committee," and the committee went by this name, has expressed its viewpoint and HELGARPOSTURINN published it with a commentary last Thursday. It is clear, from the reactions of THJODVILJINN that the publication of the report has caused very great consternation. It is stated in the report of the "Mothers' Committee," among other things: "It should be mentioned in the beginning that the primary conclusions of the committee are that the problem that the party now has with young people is not confined to that age group and that we should rather be speaking of the party's problem with voters in general. It is thus necessary to view the "problem with young people" as part of a larger problem, a problem that is so urgent that the party should consider it in its entirety."

Vital Issues

Some 10 to 15 years ago it was the vogue for all secondary school and university radicals to sit down and discuss the problems of the day. A problem of special concern was the definition of "critical" points of view; solutions to the problems were rare. Vital issues of this sort have served leftists well for propitiating their own consciences but have, on the other hand, yielded little success when we look at how drastically their support has fallen as more and

more young people are disinclined to the viewpoints of leftists. The report of the "Mothers' Committee" is of this sort when we realize that its authors have either belonged or want to belong to the "flower generation."

Tedious Party !!

It is stated in the "Mothers' Report" that the People's Alliance is a system party: ..."The party is a tedious, undemocratic and conservative system party, which first and foremost squanders its powers on defending what is or what has been. It is a party which stands as a most faithful guardian for the system as it is, one that does not show the way to new possibilities or new hopes for the future. It has in the eyes of most deceived in claiming to fight for the better working conditions of wage earners. It is a men's party in its upper framework; those who lead the party are men of middle age or older.

That is the image that young (and other) people have of the party.

"There is far too little in the actions of the party and in its policies that draws, that is pleasant, new, fresh or attractive in the eyes of young people."

This is certainly severe criticism, but as has often been the case before, everything was clear beforehand and thus it was not necessary to create a special committee to discuss the problems and put them down on paper. The way which the doom sayers see leading out of the party's problems is to make the party more pleasant, on a democratic basis. It is unclear how they propose to accomplish this except through changing party members and the party agenda.

#### Newspaper on Secret Report

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 10 Sep 85 p 30

Editorial: "The Chairman Crisis in the People's Alliance"

Text The chairman crisis that has been developing in the People's Alliance during recent months has become serious. The ground is moving out from under the feet of Svarar Gestsson. His rivals stand in the wings and follow events with great interest. No person of influence in the party has come forward to offer the chairman a helping hand.

There are no doubt many reasons for the fact that Svarar Gestsson is now fighting for his life as chairman of the People's Alliance. One is that Gestsson is the first chairman of the party who has been extremely unsuccessful in maintaining connections with the labor unions and in directing their struggles along lines acceptable to the party. Instead of creating a position for himself whereby he could have influence on events in the labor movement, Svarar Gestsson has entered into a variety of relationships with two persons from his party with influence in these associations, Asmundur Stefansson and Throstur Olafsson.

For two years Svarar Gestsson has been in an Icelandic government that freed the purchasing power index without the People's Alliance gaining any advantage from it whatever. A considerable wage cut resulted from the action. People

thought it unlikely within the People's Alliance party that the party and its chairman achieved no better than they did and now, two years later, the People's Alliance has not been aggressive in its struggle against the government. That is credited to the account of Svavar Gestsson and his awkwardness in his relations with the labor movement.

It is altogether another thing that the People's Alliance is faced by the situation that the tide of young people is running in other directions. For too many years the tendency among young people was towards the left and the People's Alliance gained good advantage from this. The high point of this for the People's Alliance was in the elections of 1978. During almost all the time that Svavar Gestsson has been party chairman, however, young people have headed in another direction and now the situation is such that the People's Alliance is thought of as an old party in spite of the young age of its chairman.

The primary reason for the chairman crisis, which is emerging in full force in the People's Alliance, is, however, that the party chairman has systematically thrust aside all his major collaborators from any positions of influence upon party policy and actions. Svavar Gestsson's former colleagues in government, Ragnar Arnalds and Hjorleifur Guttormsson, have stepped aside. Silence reigns concerning Olafur Ragnar Grimsson. Although the chairman of the People's Alliance Party has been successful in removing these person from influence upon the daily policy and activities of the party, he has been extremely unsuccessful in removing these person from influence upon the daily policy and activities of the party, he has been extremely unsuccessful in managing them along, as all four did before.

The People's Alliance national party congress will be held in the autumn. So far people have thought it likely that the reelection of the chairman would take place without incident in spite of much discontent within the party. There is now much more doubt about whether or not this will be so. The report of the so-called "Mothers' Committee" on conditions within the party has drawn great attention. There has been no less the case for the defensive reactions of the party chairman. The People's Alliance is a descendent of the Socialist Party, which always had more power in Icelandic politics than its electoral following would seem to have indicated. This power, among other things, was based upon the inner unity that characterized the nucleus of the party. This unity no longer exists. On the contrary, the difference is clear to anyone who would consider the matter even slightly. Present conditions are a sign of a general decline in the People's Alliance, something that in itself is a noteworthy political event.

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POLITICAL

ITALY

PSI DAILY REPORTS DELEGATION'S PRC VISIT

PM201157 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 17 Sep 85 p 1, 12

[Gianfranco Salmone dispatch: "Craxi Invited to China"]

[Text] Beijing, 16 Sep--A front-page photograph published by RENMIN RIBAO emphasizes the importance attributed to Socialist parliamentary chairman Rino Formica's meeting with CPC Secretary General Hu Yaobang. The meeting brought to the most satisfactory of ends a busy schedule of conversations which the PSI parliamentary delegation has had with some of the top Chinese political leaders. Hu Yaobang greatly appreciated the personal message from the PSI secretary conveyed by Formica and replied with an invitation for Craxi to pay a visit to the PRC as soon as possible.

It was a more and more intensive series of meetings, exchanges of opinion, and frank conversations verging on uninhibited analyses between representatives of two parties--the CPC and the PSI--which boast an ancient tradition of mutual friendship and respect devoid of any interference and which, though working in such distant and different geographical, economic, and political areas, now share the ideal of peaceful progress in accordance with the gradual method of reformism.

The Socialist delegation--composed of Formica with Comrades Guido De Martino, Fiandrotti, Sodano, Testa, and Trappoli--had the good fortune to arrive in Beijing on the very eve of a major political event, namely, the national conference of CPC cadre delegates. This event was as decisive as it was unusual in the domestic politics and life of this vast country. The conference has been convened only twice previously, on the occasion of very important decisions. The first time was in 1954, when the party was reorganized at the end of the revolutionary phase, and the second in 1958, at the time of the "Great Leap Forward."

This time delegates are being called on to give the seal of approval to a blueprint for the transformation of the economic structure which Beijing expects to reconcile socialist planning with individual initiative and enable China to quadruple the national income by the end of the century, in fact by 1999, the 50th anniversary of the victorious conclusion of the revolution.

In the preparatory phase of the conference, officially scheduled to start on 18 September, a debate on the topics of economic reforms is enlivening the CPC. Political circles close to those nostalgic for the Cultural Revolution times still held some positions, which are now described here as conservative. But the challenge which China is setting itself is too important for the party leadership not to be confronted with the issue of its strong stability. Therefore, as Hu Yaobang specified to Formica, there will be a broad change of personnel, affecting about 18 percent of the Central Committee, the Politburo, and the Secretariat.

To Western eyes the reform blueprint may seem politically ambitious inasmuch as it is not yet fully defined at the practical level. However, it should be properly considered from the Chinese viewpoint and with the Chinese method of showing great confidence in the capacity for self-sacrifice and adaptation of this vast people and of routinely setting the pace in accordance with long historical phases. Moreover, there is the conviction that comes from the unquestionable success of the previous 5-year plan--the sixth--which, centering on agricultural reforms, made it possible to double the sector's income, to defeat a centuries-old food shortage, and to satisfy basic needs. Now the sights are being set on the urban production structure, introducing the principle of decisionmaking autonomy and responsibility for enterprises.

The ongoing debate within the CPC and the topics of the reforms on which it is centered provided the Chinese leaders with an opportunity for and a stimulus to an open-minded conversation with the Socialist delegation--parliamentary representatives of a party committed to the utmost to the pursuit of political and social progress and to combining it with economic development within the context of a market economy.

The net result of the visit is really positive, Formica said at a press conference held at the Italian Embassy. We were very struck by the determination and by the arguments developed. Our parties share an ideological link: The Chinese have opted for the reformist path and a struggle against any resurgence of dogmatism and have gone so far as to accept dialogue with other social systems within their own national situation--something that in some other countries has never been done.

The chairman of the socialist deputies next gave an account of his meeting with the CPC general secretary, which was followed by a friendly banquet. The discussion with Hu Yaobang, Formica said, developed on three levels--with the entire delegation present, with an exchange of opinions across the table attended by Italian Ambassador Marras, and at a final,-two-man private conversation. The topics broached were as follows: an exchange of assessments on present developments in China and within the CPC: international relations, and the intensification of relations between the two parties. China's desire for close and continuous relations with Socialist parties worldwide and with national parties in government was made vividly apparent. Hu Yaogang, like other CPC leaders with whom we met in Beijing, reasserted in the real of foreign policy the traditional Chinese stance against the

U.S.-USSR polarization and in favor of multipolarity for the sake of building peace. On the domestic plane, Formica went on, the PRC is preparing to test a kind of socialism incorporating major elements of opening-up. They talk in terms not of a third way but of a hitherto "unprecedented" kind of socialism. The Beijing leaders are aware of the difficulties ahead but are counting on their great popular strength and on international cooperation. There is a great desire for thoroughness in reforms, while working within democratic legality in accordance with the principles of nonviolence. The innovation with respect to the past, with the period of the Cultural Revolution, lies in not entrusting the monitoring of the correctness of decisions to the mass movement, which itself became a decisionmaking forum. Now there is great faith in the level of development of people's awareness and in their profound ability to know how to act. Moreover, Formica added, Hu Yaobang was very explicit in pointing to a reformist line to be pursued with the experimental method, though without hesitation. "Ours," the CPC secretary general said, "cannot be a zigzag line."

Beijing and the CPC hope for a further fruitful development of the existing friendly relations with the PSI. Apart from his invitation to secretary Craxi, Hu Yaobang also urged an official visit by a PSI delegation, encouraging continuous contacts and exchanges of information on the various experiences and political developments of socialists in the West.

One final point worth reporting was the presence, at the embassy luncheon also, of the archbishop of Beijing, invited in his capacity as a member of the organization for international understanding, but whose political significance extends beyond that. It was, Formica said in this connection, a useful meeting because it raised the issue of the Vatican's recognition of the PRC. One aspect of this is the issue of Taiwan, whose episcopate is recognized by the Vatican. But it should not be impossible to find an acceptable compromise "even with regard to the pope's coming to China," the archbishop said, "the only problem concerns the visa," implying that existing obstacles can be surmounted.

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POLITICAL

ITALY

PCI'S ZANGHERI CONTRIBUTES TO PRE-CONGRESS DEBATE

PM111527 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 6 Sep 85 pp 1, 16

[PCI Secretariat member Renato Zangheri article: "Debate on PCI Policy: A Congress for Real Solutions: ]

[Excerpts] I am convinced that any topic having to do with our policy and the country's life can usefully be broached in this debate and we should not be annoyed by any requests for elucidation. But there are certain fundamental issues which we must not evade and other less topical ones, even pettifogging ones, which can very well be left out of a discussion that is intended to be constructive and to provide the party with new proposals and initiatives. The question of political democracy is certainly no pettifogging one, but we supplied clear and precise answers to it years ago, in previous congresses and on previous occasions. Nor is the question of the market, of its role, of the need to combine free enterprise with the collective good by means of democratic planning. But we have discussed this too with the necessary clarity. Some issues have been resolved. To raise them again means setting back our research and our debate. What is needed is a critical review of our experience, further precision, progress. We need a better defined policy line, not an abstract approach. The country now needs a PCI that will perform its own essential role for progress, the development of freedoms, and change in the nation's political leadership.

Of course a party such as ours--heir to and representative of so many hopes of liberation--cannot, while remaining firmly attached to the present, avoid casting a glance into the uncertain regions of the future. Practical and ideological objectives are needed at the same time, but ideals and values are not to be found in museums but are formed in the midst of the struggle which mankind is waging to forge ahead, to save itself from nuclear destruction, and to discover new sources of work and wealth. I too regard the dispute over transcending capitalism as rather abstract. Old Marx taught us that the future has its roots in the present. But it seems to me shortsighted to conform to social democratic experiences, which have ground to a halt almost everywhere and which themselves require a critical reappraisal, which has already begun, for that matter. There is the North-South balance, the problem of underdevelopment and famine, which Europe's more aware social democrats are presenting to parties which in the past were too exclusively concerned with the prosperity of their own countries. There is the difficult

combination of computer procedures with the maximum use of human resources. There is an environment damaged by uncontrolled industrialization. In our country, in the south, there is unemployment and the mafia; the burden of the public sector deficit and the prevalence of uncontrolled management of funds. Within this context of national and international contrasts it really is surprising that there is a desire to return to the false hopes of municipal or regional socialism. Left-wing regional administrations are significant and strong if they are an integral part of the country, if they are divorced from none of Italy's and the world's problems.

People present us with the objection that capitalism is not all underprivilege, imbalance, and plundering of natural resources. It is true. So what kind of future do modern capitalist societies hold in store? Undoubtedly, a continuous development of innovation, and a new smaller-scale and more widespread entrepreneurship--both effective indicators of efficiency. Moreover, they hold in store a decrease in the factory proletariat and an increase in employed work in service industries, offices, and planning and research centers.

The new professional and social classes express demands not for conservation but for change: The small-scale and dynamic entrepreneurship of our time needs not the stifling intervention of the state but the public planning of certain points of reference--credit, professional training, access to technologies, and so forth. The jobs to which millions of youngsters aspire demand a kind of development into which elements of expansion and balance are inserted. Fair taxes and an efficient civil service are desired by all those who are paying out of their own pockets for unfair taxes and a wasteful administration.

Dealing with these problems and carrying out the necessary reforms is not unrealistic; it is not a plan that lacks the necessary "motive forces," as they used to be called; but it does demand a major political, economic, and institutional swing and a great combativeness on the part of broad sectors of society. Does this outline a new road to socialism or an improvement of capitalism? Assuming that the transformations take place within democracy and consensus, under the impetus of a modern mentality and a modern solidarity, the results with regard to social systems will become apparent from the course of events. It is likely that through the process of change there will be created a juster and freer society within which decisionmaking is shifted from the minority to the majority--a society which does not aim at collectivization but which combats major accumulations of wealth and which recognizes parameters of efficiency extending beyond the requirements of justice. A certain anticipation or forecast of a socialist society are possible, but not an illusory description of the future.

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POLITICAL

ITALY

**PCI'S NATTA WINDS UP L'UNITA FESTIVAL**

PM191541 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 16 Sep 85 pp 1-2

[Rocco Di Biasi report: "Time for Left To Counterattack"]

[Text] Ferrara--"We are being asked to abandon our socialist ideals as though they were an archaic encumbrance, as though they conflicted with the specific nature of our work, including our work on the most detailed matters. This would be true if for us socialism had remained a kind of abstract image, the predistined ultimate goal of history, the pursuit of economic, social, and political models formulated elsewhere:: [PCI Secretary General] Alessandro Natta had reached the heart of his concluding speech at the grand festival in Ferrara. He was flanked on the stand by members of the PCI Central Committee and Directorate, the Italian Communist Youth Federation Secretariat, and foreign delegations.

"Back in Togliatti's time," Natta stressed to the applause of thousands and thousands of people," and subsequently over the past 30 years since the Eighth Congress, socialist ideals have not been for us a promise of a rosy future designed to conceal opportunist methods or an extremist drive for infeasible struggle objectives. Socialist ideals have provided an intellectual and moral stimulus in line with society's emerging needs.

"Of course," the PCI secretary general went on, "the first experiments in socialist transformation were marked by huge difficulties and profound tragedies. But the capitalist systems in turn have had to undergo profound modifications in the direction indicated by socialist thinking. We have learned to criticize the socialist countries' economic solutions and political models responsibly and rigorously. But this enables us to perceive even better the new contradictions that exist in the capitalist countries, even after so many profound changes, and to fight to overcome them. It is this situation that presents our congress with its major task--a task that will require a cultural effort, theoretical comprehension, and specificity. [no closing quote marks as published]

**The Party**

"Here is the Communist Party which people are trying to claim is finished." Natta was addressing directly the hundreds of thousands of people crowded

under the huge stand and all around. With them he talked first about the PCI, about the force which "represents so many of our people's hopes."

"We want to discuss with everyone," he added, "but there is a starting point that must be steadfast and clear. The PCI does not have to apologize to anyone for its name or its past. We are proud of our history and our name, as communists. If Italy has progressed over the past 40 years it has not been thanks to anyone's gracious concession. There is no cause of democracy and freedom, progress and justice, social and cultural emancipation in which the communists' contribution has not been decisive."

Next he broached the subject of the congress, to which he returned in his conclusions: "We want to hold a critical and self-critical congress," he said, "a congress of great innovation. But nothing worthwhile is achieved by proceeding from an alteration of history. Above all, it would be harmful--not only for us but for Italian democracy too--for a party with as many responsibilities as ours to fall back on a purely internal debate, perhaps confining itself to academic, semantic disputes. But our concerns are those of the workers, of the people, of the country. We stressed at our Central Committee meeting the need for a new phase in our policy on account of some degree of anxiety within the party."

#### Right and Left

In recent years a strong right-wing offensive has developed throughout the world. It is not over, "but we can now state that the Right's inability even to begin resolving the modern world's vast problems has become clearer." He went on: "We do not believe that only the left-wing forces are able to put forward initiatives capable of tackling the major contradictions of the present time. But it is now time to mount a counterattack against those who have been talking about the disappearance of all differences between Right and Left. We are now facing the serious consequences of right-wing experiments; further disasters are in store unless a further impetus is imparted to the initiative, the culture, and the activities of the Left in Europe and Italy."

#### The Government

People's concerns and everyday problem: "Did they not explain to us," the PCI secretary general asked rhetorically, "that, if our proposal on the 4 percentage points [for indexed wages] were approved, endless disasters would ensue and that the economy was forging ahead? Now, however, it has become apparent that the South is still moving further away from the North, that unemployment and layoffs are at unacceptable levels, that the public sector deficit is about to exceed danger level, and that inflation remains worrying." He went on: "Whenever parliament resumes in the fall the problems are always the same. The fact is that we are dealing with a contradictory and quarrelsome coalition which vacillates between a complete lack of decisiveness and authoritarian outbursts when it comes to striking out at the weakest."

"Let nobody tell us again," Natta stressed, "that it is governments' instability that lies at the root of Italy's ills. In the 40-year history of DC government and the 20-year DC-PSI alliance the Socialist premiership--like the non-confessional premiership before it--was certainly an innovation, and one which we stress, especially since it was partly the outcome of an electoral setback for the DC and our own resilience. But it was unrealistic to believe that the premiership could shift the political axis of a coalition characterized by moderation and conservatism. The more the maintenance of the premiership and other powers gains was theorized as an asset in itself, the more the conservative arrogance and the power of the DC increased."

What will the PCI do? "We have not ruled out and do not now rule out intermediate stages," Natta replied, "which we have a duty to prepare for through our opposition struggle. We do not act with the urge to spark off a crisis at all costs, though for the sake of propriety some minister should go; but we consider progress beyond this government an important and necessary step. We intend to pursue this objective on the basis of real distinctions and a movement involving society and the people's masses. We want to pit ourselves against the country's major problems. We are well aware that we are the first with an obligation to provide specific and advanced answers. But it is not all up to us. Indeed, we are entitled to demand signs of innovations. Primarily from the PSI, with respect to a line that is tending to take it further and further away from its promises and pledges of a policy of reform." The communists' objective "is more than ever to build a democratic government alternative, which is a vital necessity for the country"--an alternative which "does not conflict with the need for the broadest range of unitary understandings on institutional issues when the nation's basic assets are at stake."

#### PSI and DC

For that matter, Natta said, questions are beginning to be asked within the PSI too. Not only because of "the distressing ineffectiveness of the government's activity and the feeling of being in difficult straits, perhaps reflected in the prime minister's recent reference to the need for some kind of dialogue with the opposition--a necessity nevertheless contradicted by all his specific political options," but also because behind the concession of positions of power to the Socialists there is emerging the desire to humiliate the PSI. "For this very reason," Natta added, "we consider the Socialists' present position and policy by no means permanent. Understanding and unity on the Left are a necessity not just for this or that party but for all its component forces."

Otherwise the five-party coalition, "as the DC secretary mockingly proclaims," will be portrayed as the only possible majority beyond the year 2000, and Socialist autonomy will end up in the hands of a DC "within which Forlani's conservative approach is increasingly gaining the upper hand."

## Local Government

It is partly for this reason that "the solution applied to many local councils exacerbates the situation. We have reached a complete acceptance," the PCI secretary general exclaimed, "of the DC's demand to extend the five-party formula everywhere, thus dealing a blow to the principle of local government. It is an absolute fabrication to argue that this has happened because the DC was the winner on 12 May [local elections]. The DC improved somewhat on its result in the general election but not on its previous local election result, and it gained absolutely nothing in Milan, Turin, Venice, Genoa, or many other cities." So the balance of forces has not altered: "What have changed are the options of the PSI, which has reopened the doors of government to the DC in cities and provinces even where there was no need to interrupt the positive experience of left-wing councils."

## Peace

Next the PCI secretary general broached other major topics--famine and under-development and the scourge of indebtedness. "It is crazy to believe that the spontaneous virtues of the market will resolve the tragedy of billions of human beings. This is one of the major areas for a joint initiative on the part of the European left."

Then there is the major issue of peace: "Reagan has responded to the Soviet suspension of nuclear explosions with a worrying act--the testing of the anti-satellite weapon in space. It is not enough to hope that the wish for detente will be fulfilled." "Something has been achieved," Natta added. "But a great deal more can be done within the EC and NATO and with a national initiative. This is no time for ruses, for ambiguity, or for feigning disagreement while actually guaranteeing support. We ask that Italy speak out clearly against another arms race and against the militarization of space. Other Atlantic countries and governments have already spoken out. Why should Italy not do so?" "This," the party secretary general stressed, "is a context in which the broadest national agreement and understanding should be built."

## Congress

The final part of the speech was devoted to the Communist Party and the next congress: "This festival has been a major political event and has made a major contribution to our internal debate but it was intended neither as a preview of nor as a dress rehearsal for our congress. True, we have discussed here both with others and among ourselves with the same frankness and earnestness with which we tackle matters within the Directorate and the Central Committee." Do opinions differ among communists? "This is nothing new," Natta replied; "We have never been a party with only one opinion and only one voice. This was so even back in Togliatti's day." "The fact is,"

Natta concluded, "that we now want the comparison of ideas and stances to be more open and clearer throughout the party," because "the era of monolithism is long past. More and more we must build a party in which everyone not only feels entirely free to express his own opinions and to defend them even when he is in a minority, but is also able to assert himself in all the essential options affecting the party's life and policy."

CSO: 3528/106

POLITICAL

NETHERLANDS

LABOR PARTY VICTORIOUS IN PROVINCIAL ELECTION

Election Results

The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 19 Sep 85 pp 3-4

Lelystad, September 19--Labour emerged a clear winner and the Liberals the main loser in provincial elections yesterday, seen as a key pointer as to how the Netherlands will vote in parliamentary elections in May 1986.

Results of the election of a 39-member assembly for the newly-created province of Flevoland were in line with recent opinion polls which show that the centre-right coalition government has lost majority support.

Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers' Christian Democrats saw their share of the vote remain unchanged compared with the way the region voted in the September 1982 parliamentary election.

But support for their junior coalition partner, the Liberals, fell by 6.4 per cent.

Labour's share of the vote rose 4.2 per cent compared with September 1982, but this gain was less than the nine per cent leap suggested by some opinion polls earlier this year.

D'66 Gains

The centre-left Democrats '66 won six per cent of the votes cast yesterday, a rise of 1.5 per cent, which confirmed a revival in popularity indicated in opinion polls of the last few months.

Flevoland consists of three giant polders which were reclaimed from what was formerly the Zuider Zee. It will officially become the Netherlands' twelfth province on January 1, 1986.

The new province encompasses the municipalities of Noordoostpolder, Urk, Lelystad, Dronten, Almere and Zeewolde. The total population is 174,000 of whom 116,000 were eligible to vote.

#### Overall Vote

The following table compares how the six Flevoland municipalities voted in yesterday's election for a provincial assembly with how they voted in the parliamentary election of September 1982.

In the 1982 election there was a turnout of 83.8 per cent. In yesterday's election the turnout was 65.4 per cent.

	distribution of votes cast in per cent		gain/loss in per cent
	<u>1982</u>	<u>1985</u>	
Labour	29.6	33.8	+4.2
Christian Democrats	25.0	25.0	0.0
Liberals	23.2	16.8	-6.4
Democrats '66	4.5	6.0	+1.5
Other Right	9.2	12.0	+2.8
Other Left	6.3	6.4	+0.1
Minority Parties	2.2	0.0	-2.2

In the 1982 election there was a turnout of 83.8 per cent. In yesterday's election the turnout was 65.4 per cent.

Labour won 14 seats in Flevoland's new provincial assembly, the Christian Democrats 11, the Liberals seven and Democrats '66 two. Four seats went to small right-wing parties and one to the small left-wing PPR party.

#### Reaction of Parties

The Hague ANP NEWS BULLETIN in English 20 Sep 85, p 2

Lelystad, September 19--The chairmen of the three main Dutch political parties all said today they were looking forward to parliamentary elections in May 1986 with confidence following elections in the newly-created province of Flevoland yesterday.

Labour's Max van den Berg who saw his party take 33.8 per cent of the vote, said this was equivalent to 38 or 40 per cent support in a parliamentary election--enough to rob the Lubbers cabinet of its majority.

Van den Berg said the election for the 39-member provincial assembly was a reasonable barometer for the parliamentary elections because Flevoland voters were a good cross-section of Dutch society.

Liberal Chairman Jan Kamminga said his party's low vote-haul was due to the fact that the electorate associated many of the unpopular austerity measures taken by the centre-right Lubbers cabinet with the Liberals.

He said that now those measures were beginning to bear fruit in the form of a stronger economy he was confident that the Liberals could regain lost support by next May.

**'Vote of Confidence'**

The Liberals won only 16.8 per cent of the votes cast in yesterday's election.

The Christian Democrats held on to 25 per cent of the vote--the same proportion they polled in the Flevoland region in the September 1982 parliamentary election.

Party Chairman Piet Bakman interpreted this as a vote of confidence in cabinet policy and said that voters saw the Christian Democrats as the driving force within the cabinet.

Maarten Engwirda, floorleader of the centre-left Democrats '66 said he was delighted with his party's six per cent haul of the votes in yesterday's election.

He attributed it in part to the charisma of Hans van Mierlo who is making a comeback as party leader.

CSO: 3600/1

MILITARY

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

### ALPHA JET EXEMPLIFIES COMBAT EFFECTIVENESS UPGRADING GOALS

Bonn WEHRTECHNIK in German Sep 85 pp 26-28

[Article by Lt Gen Eberhard Eimler, Luftwaffe chief of staff: "Thoughts on the Combat Effectiveness Upgrading of Airborne Weapons Systems"]

[Text] Combat effectiveness upgrading--words which a decade ago were almost unknown in the Bundeswehr. Today, however, they are on everybody's lips. Most of the time to point out that, by means of combat effectiveness upgrading, existing weapons systems can be adapted to the changed threat at a reasonable cost, thus making the expensive new development of a successor system unnecessary. What thoughts prompted the Luftwaffe to plan a combat effectiveness upgrading for the Alpha Jet is explained by the Luftwaffe chief of staff, Lt Gen Eberhard Eimler, in the following article: "Maximum demands are not fulfillable in combat effectiveness upgrading programs--optimal solutions can be found, however."

#### Why Combat Effectiveness Upgrading?

"Panta rheo--everything is in a state of flux," thus the preception of Heraclitus already circa 2,500 years ago. This is still true today, and particularly for developments in the weapons-technical and electronic area. The threat grows with the latest technological findings and it must be countered with further efforts toward defense.

But even highly developed industries are unable to quickly transform the latest scientific-technological findings from the laboratory into equipment or systems which are ready for series production and are suitable for use in the field.

#### Generation Sequence

The generation sequence--to the extent that "successor thinking" is admissible at all with today's weapons systems--is subject to a cycle which aside from technological advances is dependent on a number of other factors. Among these are the costs during the entire operational life of a weapons system (in other words, development, production and operation), but also the time [required] for the realization from the initial idea until the production stage is reached.

From this it follows of necessity that a complex system can never be on the most current technological level at the time it is delivered to troops units. In addition, prior to the commencement of production per se, the design status must be frozen, so as to be able to control deadlines and costs at all.

Often, however, it is precisely the employment of the latest technologies which could decisively improve the operational effectiveness of a weapons system or equipment.

#### Growth Potential

To deal with these conflicting objectives, it is necessary, from the beginning of the development on, to permit only those modifications to flow into the development and production which are of decisive importance for the primary mission of the weapons system. This was the case with the Alpha Jet weapons system: the originally planned simple sight was replaced by a modern head-up display [HUD], so as to make extreme low level operations possible.

In the development of major items of equipment--these are normally weapons systems--particular attention is given from the outset to the development and growth potential.

Also in the case of airborne weapons systems, one must pursue the policy of exploiting the development potential in such a way that the gaps in the mission spectrum can be closed by new developments that become available later in the component and equipment sector, so as in this way to stay equal to the threat with limited resources over an extended time span. Based on past experiences, technological breakthroughs which render weapons systems obsolete overnight, so to speak, are extremely rare.

Nevertheless, sensors such as the inertial platform in the F-104G, for example, which in their day represented the pinnacle of what was technologically possible, are now--even though still useable--almost hopelessly outdated. Modern laser ring gyroscopes, indeed even gyro platforms of the modern standard, are significantly more precise, much smaller, lighter and less susceptible to interference--but also more expensive.

If, in the combat effectiveness upgrading program, key components such as this are added, then, in conjunction with currently available modern computers and weapons, operational procedures--e.g. stand-off--become possible which a few years ago would not have been technologically realizable, as desirable as they might have been from the tactical-operational standpoint.

The same is of course also true of the possibilities for defense against radar or IR-guided defense weapons, and, last but not least, materials, e.g. [those used] in aircraft engine construction.

#### Limits of Combat Effectiveness Upgrading

Combat effectiveness upgrading cannot and should not be a substitute for a re-equipment of a service component [branch] in its entirety that is in keeping

with the threat. But aside from the costs of development and procurement, also problems of support--personnel, training, infrastructure, existing munitions stock levels, etc.--make a rapid generation change with major equipment impossible. On the other hand, the combat capability of a weapons system during a long service period decreases to a level at which it is no longer cost-effective, if it is not raised back to the required level through meaningful modernization.

Through cost-benefit analyses it must repeatedly be redetermined whether the required additional investments for combat effectiveness upgrading are still worthwhile. This is particularly true when the technological life expectancy of a weapons system is nearing its end, be it because the technologically prescribed service life of the airframe is reached, because of above-average attrition during its utilization, or because of the obsolescence of too many components.

In the planning of combat effectiveness upgrading measures, care must also be taken that the existing good characteristics of a weapons system are not impaired by them. In airborne weapons systems, the thrust-to-weight ratio plays an outstanding role in this regard, with the stealth capability being not far behind.

It is likewise essential to interrelate possible improvements in a weapons system with other weapons systems, either in existence or being introduced, in other words, to keep the effectiveness of combined arms and mission coordination in mind.

The goal of all measures must be to assure mission performance by the system at hand under the special aspect of the threat development.

The framework for these reflections is formed by the cost planning of the Bundeswehr or the service branch, within which a compromise must always be found between what is technologically feasible and operationally desirable, on the one hand, and financeable, on the other. Often enough plans cannot be realized, as promising as they might be, simply because they cannot be programmed.

#### Re Combat Effectiveness Upgrading of Alpha Jet

The planned combat effectiveness upgrading program for the Alpha Jet is naturally also subject to these limiting conditions. Its good maneuverability in the air and its high flexibility as a weapons system are to be retained; its operational effectiveness, especially in the air-to-ground role, is to be increased.

Since completely new armament, e.g., lighter drop munitions so as not to affect the thrust-to-weight ratio adversely, is not financeable, the operational accuracy of existing munitions must be improved, on the one hand, and the stand-off munitions soon to be delivered must be mated [to the aircraft], on the other.

The vertical aircraft weapon is planned to be the newly developed armament for the Alpha Jet, which will require only a small integration effort on the

aircraft itself. Aside from this, the air-to-air capability is to be improved by means of a guided missile that is launched from an additional weapons station [pylon] on the wing.

It follows from this that the focal point of the measures taken to upgrade the combat effectiveness of the Alpha Jet will involve the combined fire control-navigation system. With the change of this component, the operating area of the weapons system at night and under poor visibility conditions is at the same time to be increased, if possible.

A number of sensors will presumably be replaced or modified for this purpose, ranging from the flight heading and locational reference platform to pressure transducers or angle sensors.

Additional sensors, e.g. a range finder and night vision aids, must be selected and integrated, and finally the weapons computation in the currently employed and also adequate weapons computer must be adapted to the head-up display.

The planned expansion of the operating area at night and under poor visibility conditions is an especially good example of the utilization of more recent technology, which 10 years ago was not available in this form: Infrared equipment (Forward Looking Infrared--FLIR) has now attained a standard which permits its operation also in fast and low-flying combat aircraft. In conjunction with a computer, the FLIR image can be additionally interpreted (e.g. through an indication of targets) and provided with indicators/symbols for weapons employment or navigation.

Another supplement that is feasible is the utilization of image intensification glasses [eyeglasses], with which the image sector not acquired by the FLIR equipment can be covered.

Both units--FLIR and image intensification glasses--make it possible for a combat aircraft to operate directly above the battlefield without emitting any signals, i.e., the stealth capability is not reduced.

To further increase the weapons delivery accuracy, the stability of the aircraft as a weapons platform is to be improved by means of a three-plane damping system.

The mission reliability of a weapons system is determined to a decisive degree by its survivability, its ability to do the job [prevail]. To improve this, the existing electronic warfare equipment will be revised and supplemented and in this way--almost--raised to the latest technological level. At the same time, the possibilities for reducing the susceptibility to detection of the aircraft will be reduced.

Finally, several improvements to details--such as a new one-piece windshield and improved display and control elements--are to make the difficult operation [of the aircraft] easier for the pilot, especially during extreme low level flights and in poor visibility, and increase the flexibility of the weapons system, e.g. by making it possible to carry external fuel tanks on the inboard pylons as well.

Needless to say, the program will be so integrated into the other projects of the Luftwaffe, timewise and financially, that reciprocal displacement effects do not arise and the available appropriations are optimally utilized. For the combat effectiveness upgrading of the Alpha Jet, this leads to a very tight and thus rigid time schedule for development and reequipment, combined with an early and long-lasting utilization of the improved version.

#### Maximum Demands Are Not Fulfillable

What matters to me is the creation of an awareness of the fact that maximum demands in combat effectiveness upgrading programs are for various reasons not fulfillable, but that optimum solutions can in fact be found.

I also wish to emphasize that combat effectiveness upgrading is not meant to be a belated [an after-the-fact] implementation of the true demands to be made of the weapons system--through the back door, so to speak. However, the Alpha Jet, like other weapons systems as well, must, for another stage of its service life, remain equal to the threat and operational in keeping with its mission.

The fact that the Luftwaffe is basically on the right track with its concept of optimally exploiting the development potential of existing weapons systems is demonstrated by comparable plans [being made] in all the other armed forces.

The reflections on the combat effectiveness upgrading of the Alpha Jet are supported by the preliminary work done to date on the concept as well as the equipment variants of other users.

Insets on p 28:

#### Vertical Aircraft Weapon

makes possible attacks

- from flights at extremely low altitudes
- without combat hops [climbs],

requires

- No target acquisition utilizing sensors on board the aircraft
- no target tracking by the pilot in the head-up display
- only minimal effort to integrate [retrofit] it [in the aircraft],

supplements the weapons spectrum of

- existing air-to-ground weapons (bombs, unguided rockets, and guided missiles)
- future stand-off weapons.

## Measures for Combat Effectiveness Upgrading

### Measures independent of combat effectiveness upgrading

- Improved operational performance of the power plant (structural condition C 20)
- Retrofitting the electronic warfare equipment, 1st stage
- Improved air-to-ground rockets (2.75" FFAR - CRV 7)

### Navigation-attack system

- Heading and location reference
- Range finding equipment
- Night vision aids
- Adaptation of computer

### Armament

- Air-to-surface missile MAVERICK B/D
- Vertical aircraft weapon
- Air-to-air missiles on the third pylon
- Stand-off weapons SRARM and SRSOM (planned for later)

### Electronic warfare/electronic countermeasures system

- Display in the cockpit (type, direction, priority)
- Decoys
- Shutdown of all electromagnetic emitters

### Peripheral measures

- Three-plane damping
- One-piece windshield
- External fuel tank on inboard pylon
- Control elements/indicators
- Landing flaps/leading edge slats
- Acoustic stall warning.

12689

CSO: 3620/494

MILITARY

FINLAND

BRIEFS

DOMESTIC ASSAULT RIFLES ORDERED--Thursday the defense forces received government permission to buy assault rifles worth roughly 76 million marks. The rifles will be bought gradually over a 5-year period. Two manufacturers are involved in the deal, Valmet's Plant in Tourula and Sako-Tikka Co. The rifles will be of roughly 90 percent domestic manufacture, creating roughly 400 work/years of employment. The order will have a considerable effect on the employment picture for Sako-Tikka. The order is based on an increase in this year's budget for infantry weapons purchases. [Text] [Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Finnish 30 Aug 85 p 7] 8954

CSO: 3650/349

MILITARY

FRANCE

PARIS PAPER VIEWS DRAFT 1986 DEFENSE BUDGET

PM181535 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Sep 85 p 12

[Jacques Isnard Report: "The 1986 Defense Budget"]

[Text] Priority for the navy, which is supposed to protect France's interests abroad, and the Rapid Action Force, which is designed to be the army's "spearhead" in Europe and overseas. The nuclear deterrent force's pereminent role is maintained, with one-third of the investments. A space policy effort has been launched to obtain communications and military observation satellites.

On the other hand there are no plans to order airborne radar and few hopes of the air force having a mobile strategic missile at its disposal.

This is a brief analysis of the broad outlines of the 1986 draft defense budget, which will be examined by the cabinet on Wednesday 18 September at the same time as the rest of the state spending for the next year.

This draft military budget amounts to Fr158.35 billion (excluding pensions, which total Fr36,425 million), in other words a 5.4 percent increase over Defense Ministry spending for 1985. If inflation in 1986 is what the government now forecasts, in other words 3.7 percent, the armed forces' purchasing power ought to be greater than was feared when the outline of the military budget was being drafted a few months ago.

The Defense Ministry attributes this increase in the total military funds for 1986 to Prime Minister Laurent Fabius, who countered the Finance Department's restrictive proposals in the debate.

In 1986 the armed forces should devote Fr82.67 billion to administration (section 3 of the finance bill) and Fr75.68 billion to equipment (section 5 and 6). In other words respective increases of 5.31 percent and 5.55 percent over the total sums allocated to these two sections of spending in 1985.

A New Strategic Submarine

In administrative funds priority has been given to spending on training the forces and, as laid down in the 1984-1988 military programming law passed by parliament in 1983, military personnel will be reduced by around 5,000 men and

women. Conscript pay, which was not increased in 1985, will be increased by Fr1 per day from 1 January 1986. The pay of some professional soldiers will be increased and long contracts (15 years, with proportional pension rights) will be offered to NCO's. Similarly the gendarmerie, which complained this year of being unable to cover its fuel and telephone costs without an "extension" of the budget, should see a 6-percent increase in its administrative funds (and a 10-percent increase for fuel costs).

But it is to equipment, both nuclear and conventional, that Defense Minister Charles Hernu wanted to give priority, unlike other civilian ministries in which such spending will stay the same next year.

Indeed, the French armed forces have reached the stage at which they will have to consider replacing a large part of their arsenal, because some equipment is obsolescent.

For instance, the nuclear forces will receive funds totaling Fr25.2 billion (an increase of around 7.7 percent over 1985), in other words one-third of military equipment spending in 1986.

Several current programs will continue to be implemented: The conversion of Mirage IV aircraft into bombers capable of launching the medium-range air-to-surface missile, the adaptation of this same nuclear missile to the air force Mirage 2000 aircraft (model N) and to the air defense force's Super Etandard aircraft, the commissioning of the Transall-Astarte aircraft (which serve for communicating strategic orders), the development of the Hades substrategic missile, which will replace the army's Pluton missile, and the modernization of the existing submarines (the redoutable class) into submarines capable of firing M4 Mirved missiles like those on board the *Inflexible*.

A new generation of strategic submarines will be studied, with a new design of hull. An effort to reduce the noise it makes in motion should make it even more difficult to detect by around 2005 to 2010.

It is next summer that the government will decide whether this new submarine will be armed with missiles derived from the existing M4 missile or with a new missile, the M5, with more, lighter nuclear warheads (people talk of around 12 warheads on a single missile) which would be "hardened" [durci] in order to more effectively to escape detection by enemy ABM defense networks. The submarine would be ready in 1994 and the M5, if it is chosen, in 1997.

In general, funds will be allocated in 1986 to the design of active and passive "decoys" against the ABM installations of early next century. These "decoys" will be mounted on all warheads of French missiles, especially those on strategic submarines. Reducing the vulnerability of the submarines and fitting their missiles with "decoys" are two arguments put forward by the government to explain why it preferred, for the time being, not to start production of the SX, a mobile strategic missile proposed by the air force. The SX would have been a missile which could be transported by air by Transall aircraft and mounted on an unmarked truck, stored on air bases, and moved to its specified launch sites when necessary.

The air force is preparing to lose not just the SX missile. It also has to abandon the hope of having two or three Boeing AWACS airborne radar systems, which would have improved its ability to detect enemy raids at low altitude in Europe or in distant theaters of operation abroad.

The Defense Ministry thinks that this major project, estimated to be worth around Fr10 billion, should not be imported from a foreign country and that French industry should be able to offer alternative solutions at a lower price.

Of course, in Europe the AWACS already in service in NATO will not leave France without information about the military situation. But outside Europe we would have to be able to "rig" a national system, as was shown to be necessary in Chad.

Incidentally Operation Manta in Chad illustrated many other shortcomings in the French military network in the framework of a far-flung overseas intervention. The 1986 draft budget is an attempt to remedy that situation. For instance, the army will be authorized by buy CL-289 automatic reconnaissance devices from Canada (unmanned aircraft which spy on the battlefield), and to order light armored vehicles from the French manufacturer Panhard with which the Rapid Action Force will be first to be equipped.

In addition to this equipment the army should devote around Fr900 million to the development of two important arms programs intended to modernize its arsenal: first the development of its new battle tank to replace the AMX-30, which will have new armor and will be able to fire while moving; second, the development of the support and protection helicopter (the Hap intended for antitank combat against other helicopters) in cooperation with Germany.

The navy for its part will start work on its first nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, which will be in service after 1994.

This 35,000 ton aircraft carrier to be built in Brest should be able to carry the tactical fighter derived from the Rafale which Dassault-Breuet and SNECMA proposed in vain during negotiations among five European countries on a joint plane. Another aircraft carrier of the same type will be built later to replace the Foch and the Clemenceau at the end of the decade. The building of this aircraft carrier--a symbol of France's intention to have a presence on all the oceans to safeguard its interests--is accompanied by the decision, debated at length, to include in the 1986 budget the construction of a seventh nuclear attack submarine comparable to the Rubis or the Saphir. These submarines launch torpedoes and missiles against surface ships or other submarines. The seventh nuclear attack submarine will however be quieter than its predecessors: It will be about the same size, but the front of its hull will be more streamlined.

#### With or Without the Germans

Taking account of all these new programs, the navy should order the equivalent of 50,000 tons of ships in 1986, in other words one-sixth of the fleet's total tonnage.

To complete this arsenal of nuclear deterrence and conventional retaliation the essential thing will be the launch of a real space policy for military purposes. The VEC (Seeing, Listening, Communicating) Program is being implemented aimed at seeing, listening, and communicating with complete autonomy. The aims were defined by the space general staff appointed by Mr Hernu at the beginning of the year and now chaired by Admiral Bernard Louzeau, major general of the armed forces.

The air force, which is to order 35 Mirage 2000's including 16 Model N planes intended for nuclear purposes in 1984, is intended to direct this space policy if its general staff is able to "turn to" space in time instead of clinging to the dubious survival of its Albion Plateau Missiles.

With a view to this, research and development funds will be reserved in 1986 for two projects aimed in the first case at giving headquarters the means of being in constant communication with its bases or its most distant units and, in the second case, of gathering military information about the development of crises and the balance of forces in the world.

With the help of communication satellites the first program is intended to provide, before the middle of the next decade, a network of government and military communications based on what has just been attempted, on a smaller scale, with the launch of the French Telecom 1 civilian telecommunications satellite, whose channels are used by the military. Operation Manta in Chad demonstrated the full urgency of this.

The second project concerns the development of military observation satellites. Initially such satellites would make use of optical technology (in fine weather), and at a later stage they would use radar reconnaissance (in bad weather and at night). This is a very ambitious program and one for which France would like the cooperation of an ally, as is shown by its discussions with the Germans.

The French are not making this cooperation with the FRG an essential precondition. In fact the Defense Ministry states that it will continue this space program alone if the Bonn Government chose, by its refusal, not to free itself from the cover provided by the American surveillance network.

CSO: 3519/288

MILITARY

SWEDEN

THUNBORG: AIR FORCE YOUTH EXCHANGES TILTED TOO MUCH TO WEST

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 30 Jul 85 p 7

[Article by Sune Olofson]

[Text] Defense Minister Anders Thunborg has criticized the air force's international exchange program involving young people who are interested in aviation. He said the exchange is too onesidedly oriented toward the West, making it incompatible with Swedish neutrality.

The defense minister has given orders to the air force staff to set up a more "balanced exchange program."

"Exchanges will no longer be solely with NATO countries," said Lieutenant Colonel Lars Alveskog of the attache division of the Defense Ministry.

Each year around 20 Swedish young people who are interested in flying and belong to the air force's youth organization travel abroad where they get an insight into the air forces of other countries. At the same time Sweden acts as host to a corresponding number of young people from other countries. The government decides which young people will be allowed to take part in these trips.

Switzerland and Austria

"When Defense Minister Anders Thunborg was asked to approve this year's exchange group he reacted strongly and asked to have the program broadened," said Lars Alveskog.

In the past exchanges have been made primarily with the United States, Canada, West Germany, England, Belgium and Israel.

"We would like to exchange people with such countries as Switzerland, Austria, Yugoslavia, Spain and Italy."

An international organization known as IEAC [expansion unknown] is in charge of the exchange program. Warsaw Pact countries do not belong to the organization. That is why there has been no exchange of young people with such

countries as the Soviet Union, East Germany and Poland. But there have been reports that the Warsaw Pact countries are planning to apply for membership in IEAC.

No Halt Planned

Reports have reached the parents of this year's aviation exchange students that the Defense Ministry threatened to shut down the exchange program altogether unless it was expanded. Lars Alveskog denied this:

"The air force staff received a directive to broaden the program and the exchanges will continue."

Lars Alveskog thought it was "somewhat exaggerated" to talk about Swedish neutrality in this context.

"This is a very innocuous activity that does not threaten anyone," he said.

SVENSKA DAGBLADET was unable to reach Defense Minister Anders Thunborg to ask if he had any comments on the matter.

6578

CSO: 3650/323

MILITARY

SWEDEN

#### ARMED FORCES TEST OPERATING OWN BATTERY PLANT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Sep 85 p 21

[Text] An emergency factory for dry-cell batteries was tested this summer by the National Board of Economic Defense, OEF, in a warehouse in Smaland. Manufacturing could begin after 3 days and the quality of the emergency batteries was high, even higher than for certain brands of batteries sold today in Sweden.

The production of dry-cell batteries in Sweden ceased in 1981 when the last factory in Angelholm was closed, reports the magazine VERKSTADERNA, which will describe the test run in its next issue. However, in connection with the closing the OEF bought some machinery which was mothballed in a warehouse. The raw materials--glassmakers' manganese, electrode compound and zinc for the cups--are also being stored by the OEF.

Two men from the closed factory in Angelholm trained 12 persons in Smaland, five machines were set up and a production line was in operation for 2 months. The batteries which were manufactured will be tested for the Defense Materiel Agency, FMV, by a few military units.

"In a crisis situation we anticipate getting production under way after about a month," says Bengt-Erik Nilsson, head of OEF's metal and workshop department, to the magazine. About 100 persons are needed for operating five manufacturing lines, which can manage an annual capacity of 80 million batteries, which is the entire emergency requirement.

In time the possibilities for coping with the emergency production decline, but people at the OEF anticipate having emergency preparedness for five to seven years. It might last longer, with maintenance of knowledge and machines and with joint training.

"The demands for good profitability and the increasingly tight rationalization of capital in industry has driven manufacture of many products which are strategic for the supply of the population out of the country," Nilsson says. The fact that the supply questions can be solved in the case of batteries, must nevertheless be regarded as an exception."

"For a product as simple as sheetmetal for canned goods there is today no domestic manufacturer. Another example: More than half of a Swedish-

manufactured quality bicycle consists of imported parts. For example, the front and rear hubs are not manufactured in Sweden."

The OEF is conducting [illegible] manufacture of [illegible] canned food is packaged in cans of enameled black sheetmetal. Test tastings of these canned goods are to be undertaken next year, VERKSTADERNA writes.

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

SMUGGLED COMPUTERS CONFISCATED, TO AID JAS DEVELOPMENT

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Aug 85 p 7

[Article by Bo G. Andersson]

[Text] The extremely advanced computer equipment that businessman Sven-Olof Hakansson tried to smuggle into the Soviet Union via Sweden will be used among other things to develop the new Swedish combat plane, the JAS [combined fighter-bomber and reconnaissance plane].

As DAGENS NYHETER reported yesterday the government has decided to let the Swedish defense forces have the equipment which consists of Vax computers, terminals, lasers, equipment for manufacturing circuits, diskettes, magnetic tape and an infrared espionage camera, among other things.

The defense system--represented by the Defense Research Institute and the Aerotechnical Research Institute--will purchase the materiel at a "utility value" of 20 million kronor, the government has decided.

Some of this involves sensitive military information which Hakansson's task-master stole from companies like the West German airplane manufacturer, Messerschmitt-Boelkow-Blohm, located near Munich. There are design programs that were probably used in manufacturing the new NATO Tornado airplane.

In its report to the government the Aerotechnical Research Institute (FFA) wrote that resources for vital calculations concerning the Swedish JAS project are severely strained and will soon be totally inadequate.

One reason for the strain is that FFA expects to be asked soon by the Defense Materiel Command to study the Viggen airplane's damage resistance and other properties. A similar study will then be made of the JAS system.

If FFA's computer capacity is expanded with one of "Hakansson's" big computers the calculation capacity needs would be met for approximately the next 3 years.

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

#### EAST BLOC SPY DISCOVERED SEEKING SECRET JAS MATERIAL

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Sep 85 p 20

[Article by Gunnar Sorbring: "East Bloc Agent Uncovered; Spied on JAS"]

[Text] The Swedish security police has uncovered a spy from the Warsaw Pact who was looking for secret information on the Swedish JAS aircraft project.

The East-bloc spy was in contact with a JAS expert from Linkoping with important knowledge of the project when the disclosure took place.

The spy worked according to a pattern well known by now. He had completed the so-called "friendship phase" and had become more daring in his search for data, when the Linkoping man became suspicious and contacted Sapo [Security Police]. NORRKOPINGS TIDNINGAR reports.

"The information is correct," confirms Saab-Scania and JAS project security chief Rolf Dolk to DAGENS NYHETER.

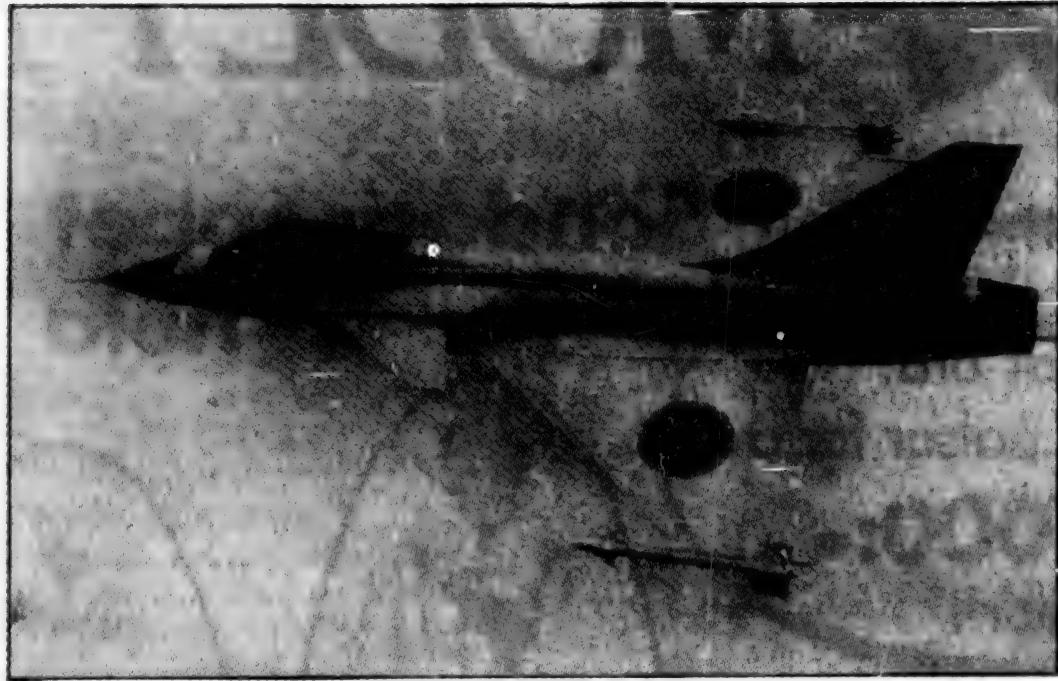
The incident occurred more than a year ago but has not become known until now. After Sapo became involved, the name of the East-bloc agent was quickly revealed. He has now left the country.

"What has happened indicates a pattern that we recognize. We can determine that the mental preparation by our coworkers is functioning, when they sound the alarm in this manner. Accordingly, the security protection really works," says Rolf Dolk.

#### Strong Pressure

"The event also shows that when we develop the world's most advanced aircraft we have a truly strong intelligence pressure against us. This is not the only time that foreign agents have been nosy about the JAS project," Dolk says.

A spy can save the greatest amount of time in the planning stage, at the beginning of the development. That is also when he is most intense and most inquisitive in his contacts with the people who work with a large project of this kind.



A Warsaw Pact spy has been uncovered by the security police. The spy was seeking information about the Swedish JAS plane and was in contact with an expert from Linkoping when he was exposed.

"Time is an essential factor, and we are in the midst of an extremely sensitive phase right now," Dolk states. More than 1,000 persons are working on the JAS.

"No person is insignificant to a spy. If he can reach a person with partial system knowledge, he has succeeded."

In an advanced project of type JAS it is mid-level people who are of most interest to an agent looking for puzzle pieces, since those persons have the most detailed knowledge.

The fact that Sweden is the object of such intense courtship has a simple explanation, in Rolf Dolk's opinion:

"The Swedish level of capability with aircraft such as Draken, Viggen and JAS has always been high. We are good, quite simply."

The fact that the agent from the Warsaw Pact succeeded in completing a so-called friendship phase with the Linkoping man before the latter became suspicious and sounded the alarm, was because the Linkoping man did not know with whom he was speaking, Dolk says.

An agent neither looks like an agent nor like an "East-bloc fellow" and--as in this case--speaks perfect Swedish.

Minimize

That it also why it is important to prepare those who work on sensitive projects for what might happen:

"We have a concept called "need-to-know," which means that only someone with an absolutely need for information will get it. This applies to each individual coworker and is there to minimize potential damage," Rolf Dolk says.

"Do not think that this applies to the JAS project alone. It applies to high technology in general," he says.

In order to protect the coworkers from inquisitive attention, the motivational phase is the most important, in his opinion, and there information and education is everything:

"It is important to create mental preparation in everybody, so that they know the opponent's objectives and methods."

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

FORMER DEFENSE MINISTER ARGUES FOR THREE-YEAR TRAINING OPTION

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 3 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Lars De Geer]

[Text] Lars De Geer served as defense minister in the 1978-79 Liberal government.

The current support for the armed forces among our young people and the tough civilian job market they are encountering lead many of them to sign up for 3 years of military service anyway--but there should also be economic and educational incentives for doing so.

For the last couple of months there has been a defense debate going on in SVENSKA DAGBLADET with one side calling for more high technology and better training in our defense system and the other maintaining that limited defense funds and the geographic size of our country make relying on "tough guys" or, to put it more elegantly, "a nation in arms" the only alternative. By and large the modern Swedish defense system represents the latter alternative, which makes it a little disturbing that an apparently thorough opinion poll of our conscripts revealed that confidence in our defense system is lower after conscripts have completed their period of service than it was before they started.

In the first place our defense organization should have such a deterrent effect on a potential assailant that after a consideration of the resources required and possible objectives he will reach the conclusion that an attack against Sweden is "not worth it" within the framework of a major war in Europe. It seems likely that from this point of view our defense would seem more credible to an assailant if it has "high-tech" equipment and has a strong air force, a navy that is suited for its objectives and an army that has a pronounced offensive capability. But for "high technology" to command respect, military personnel must also have a training that lives up to the standard of the materiel, which is scarcely possible today with the short period of compulsory military service that we have to work with.

### Short Wars

In the second place, in a manner of speaking, it could be argued that our present "nation in arms" type of defense might provide a tougher and more stubborn defense if our country really is attacked--especially if the war is a long one. But long wars may not be as likely today as they were in the past; many modern military developments point toward short wars, as exemplified by Israel's series of conflicts. But another observation may be more important: if we are involved in a war it means that our defense system has failed in its primary task of deterring an assailant! If we are capable of mounting a stiff defense after an attack occurs that is some consolation but in that case our people would be exposed to all the horrors of war.

The most important argument against a "high-tech" defense, of course, is the cost! The army would like helicopters, anti-tank weapons of all kinds, modern tanks, cross-country vehicles, reliable communications between units and much more. If we turn to the air force and the navy the wish lists are both longer and more expensive, but a good many basic decisions have already been made here.

### More Money

The air force is replacing the Viggen with the JAS/Gripen [combined fighter-bomber and reconnaissance plane] and the navy will expand its submarine defenses with new corvettes (although only some of them have been ordered so far). Our own submarines are on a high technical level even though their numbers have been reduced alarmingly in recent years. Where the air force and the navy are concerned model costs have already been approved for new airplanes, missiles, corvettes and submarines. What is needed now is a larger production of existing completed weapons systems and those now under development--which would reduce the cost per unit but would require much more money than is provided in current defense budgets.

Therefore the most dramatic changes are being demanded by advocates of high technology in the army where the present situation is characterized in these words: "a poorly-equipped and inadequately-trained mass army that would suffer terrible losses if it has to fight a war." In addition to lacking--or having an inadequate supply of--the weapons listed above, such things as helicopters for transporting the wounded, anti-tank helicopters, modern combat vehicles, anti-aircraft missiles for all altitudes, surface protection weapons, precision ammunition, electronic guidance systems, protective vests, good winter boots, night combat weapons and a good many other things needed by a well-equipped army have been called for.

### Professional Army

Obviously there is no way that we can supply all these demands and at the same time retain the current system of training all able-bodied men of draft age! This would require a division into categories, which would

revive all the criticism of the 1925 defense arrangement and its division of eligible conscripts into two groups, one that received no training at all and the other that received the standard training.

The traditional aversion to division into categories--which is regarded as unfair, undemocratic and morally indefensible--has led many military professionals to maintain that the alternative to today's conscript army is an army of career soldiers. The objections to this are legion: the high cost would make the army too small to defend a country as big as Sweden, the arrangement would be unsuitable for a democracy in terms of domestic policy, American experiences suggest that morale is lower in a professional army than in an army of conscripts and so on ad infinitum! A standing army is not a realistic alternative for Sweden and therefore we can drop the idea from the debate.

#### Field Army

But for financial reasons our present conscript army consisting of everyone old enough to perform military service could not be utilized effectively in a conflict with superpower units with many years of training. If we replace it or supplement it with something else we are back at some form of division into categories, no matter how detestable this is to many people. What follows then is a proposal that is meant to be merely a basis for discussion. With no thought of loss of prestige or anything of the sort I will welcome all suggested amendments or supplements to my proposal!

Let us allow about 10 percent of the eligible age group--around 4,000 men--to volunteer on induction for 3 years of service in a "field army," divided in peacetime into five "brigade regiments." The current support for the armed forces among our young people and the tough civilian job market they are encountering suggest that many would sign up for a 3-year stretch under any circumstances--but it should still be made financially and educationally attractive for those who want to volunteer!

#### Qualified

The current pay rate for conscripts might be enough during the first year, but after that wages comparable to those paid civilians should be in effect for the second and third years, adjusted to allow for the free board and room that is provided. If the present tax exemption for conscript pay is retained for these years too, cash wages should be reduced accordingly, provided that the conscripts who choose 3 years of field army service have a standard of living comparable to men their age who have civilian jobs.

Planning the training for "field army recruits" so that they are qualified to seek civilian jobs later on is just as important as paying them well. A tough and thorough training in military skills must be supplemented with marketable civilian training in mechanics, weapons technology, communications, computer training, staff service, etc. The last year of the 3-year service period should be used at least in part for upgrading each man to a higher rank along the lines of the highly efficient army of hundreds of thousands built up by the German Weimar Republic between the wars.

## Economic Incentives

In short, at the end of the 3-year period the field army soldier should not only be a competent military man but also have qualifications in technology and job leadership that have some value in the civilian job market. At that point some of them will probably want to sign up for military service as career officers--but most of them will transfer to the reserves and get civilian jobs. They would then be recalled for refresher exercises lasting perhaps 1 months every 4 years in the beginning and less frequently later on--with good economic incentives in all cases to compensate them for their regular and recurring "inconvenience."

The brigade regiments with their officer trainees--around 15,000 men in all divided into five units, each containing troops of all kinds--would constitute the basis in peacetime for defending the nation against coups and violations of our neutrality. Their technical equipment must be of the very best quality, which will make it expensive, unfortunately. When the new system has been fully implemented, after 25 years, each "brigade regiment" should be able when mobilized to set up two complete brigades in which the total personnel strength of the "field army" would be close to 100,000 men.

## Good Morale

Exercises in advanced units should routinely occur in combination with the refresher training of older reservists so that transports using helicopters and large cargo planes can be practiced in realistic maneuvers involving several "brigade regiments." The field army should be an elite force with good equipment, first-class training and good morale! The many UN forces set up by our country provide ample testimony that Swedish soldiers can form fighting forces of this type. These units have maintained an extremely high military standard even in comparison with the professional units from other countries with which they have worked.

## Reinforcements

If the field army gets everything it needs, will there be any money left for the 90 percent who will not participate in it? I suggest that this group be given 100 days of basic training which would consist primarily of special training in drill, handling weapons, marksmanship and physical fitness. Making combat-ready units out of these "reservists" would take many more months of service, which could be required--perhaps by government order without consulting Riksdag--in a tense international situation of at least all those who completed their 100 days of basic training in the past year. But additional training--except for those who have recently completed their basic training--would require the consent of Riksdag for both democratic and economic reasons. After receiving supplemental training these reservists would be assigned primarily to local defense units, but after longer periods of training they could also be used to reinforce the field army.

### Superfluous Units

The field army's brigade regiments should be assigned to places around the country that are already equipped with good military facilities and exercise opportunities. Training regiments for reservists--suggestions for a better term would be appreciated--should also go to all parts of the country. But for reasons of economy each of these regiments must train three batches of "reservists" a year. This would make a large number of the current peacetime army units superfluous and eliminating them is a necessity if money is to be saved in any area. It is a widespread misconception that our defense force insists on retaining all peacetime units; the requirements of the wartime organization must determine how many peacetime units are needed! Additional units cost money without doing much to increase our defensive force.

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

#### OFFICER TRAINING EXCHANGE PROGRAMS OVERWHELMINGLY WITH NATO

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 30 Jul 85 p 7

[Article by Erik Liden]

[Text] Since 1970 189 foreign officers have been trained at Swedish military schools while Sweden has sent 160 officers to other countries for training there.

The experiences have been so positive that an expansion of the exchange program has been discussed. No eastern nations appear in these statistics.

"There are obvious reasons why officers from Warsaw Pact countries do not take part in these exchange programs," said section chief Per Nystrom of the defense staff's personnel planning division. "They would like to come to Sweden but they have not offered any training openings in their own countries. The Swedish armed forces will not accept this as a matter of principle."

The defense staff also confirmed that an expanded exchange program with France is being considered and that an entirely new exchange program with Austria is being planned. Today most of Sweden's training contacts are with the United States, Great Britain and Norway.

#### Commander in Chief in First Place

Since 1970, 58 Swedish officers have taken part in various forms of American military training in the United States and West Germany. The best-known school is Fort Leavenworth in Kansas where the current Commander in Chief, Lennart Ljung, studied in 1957. He was the top foreign student at the end of the course. Today students from 50 different countries attend the school.

The advanced courses in the United States run for 12 months and correspond to the advanced course at the Swedish Military College. Sweden has sent most of its students to the Naval War College, where nine naval officers have attended since 1970. The only Swedish student in the United States at this time is Tank Corps Colonel Nils Rosenqvist who is studying at the Army War College.

## Six in France

The most common form of service abroad is a few weeks of so-called exchange service with American units in West Germany or with British army units. Since 1970, 30 Swedish officers have worked with the Americans and 65 with the British.

In addition, three officers have studied in Denmark, 24 have taken advanced courses in Great Britain, two in Finland, six in France, one in Norway and two in West Germany. The defense staff made the reservation that information from the early 1970's may be incomplete. Advanced intelligence courses have not been included in these figures.

Exchange programs with France require excellent language skills since the 19-month courses at the naval and air force colleges, Ecole Superieure de Guerre Naval and Guerre Aerienne, are taught in French. Major Owe Wagermark of the air force was number 1 in 1983/84 and this fall navy Captain Lars Wedin will begin his training. Former chief of the navy Per Rudberg also studied in France.

## Mainly Englishmen

Of the 160 students listed, 107 came from the army, 33 from the navy and 20 from the air force.

In Sweden 104 of the 189 foreign students came here for periods of 2 to 6 weeks. The rest took part in courses lasting from 12 to 24 months, mostly at the Military College.

Denmark has sent 16 officers to Sweden, Great Britain 74, Finland eight, Norway 48, the United States 39 and Thailand four during the 1970's. Most surprising is the fact that as many as 47 Norwegian students have attended the regular and advanced courses at the Swedish Military College while Sweden has sent only one student to the corresponding school in Norway. Sweden prefers training in the United States and Great Britain.

## NATO Dominance

There has been a NATO dominance of training exchange programs. The defense staff explains this by saying that it is impossible to set up mutual exchange programs with Warsaw Pact countries.

Since 1949 eight Swedish students have received the coveted training at the U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth, where almost 5,000 foreign officers from 90 countries have been trained since 1894. The most recent student was Lieutenant Colonel Svante Bergh of the air force who was there in 1981/82. He stressed that the training is valuable because of the contacts one can make and the understanding one can get of other countries' problems. "This is not a question of military secrets but of a very good training in modern leadership," Bergh said.

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MILITARY

SWEDEN

POLISH TRAVELING 'ART SALESMEN' SURVEY AIR FORCE PILOT HOMES

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 5 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Lars Christiansson and Roger Magnergard]

[Text] Polish "art salesmen" have visited 113 pilots and other flight personnel over the last few years. The conclusion of the Swedish security service is that they have been mapping the pilots' habits and homes--so that they could be put out of action quickly, hours before a war breaks out.

On two occasions, in 1979 and 1981, the police detained groups of traveling Polish art salesmen. On the first occasion chief prosecutor K. G. Svensson felt he had solid evidence that the salesmen were engaged in espionage.

On 66 different maps the salesmen had marked air bases, new roads and bridges, mobilization stockpiles and areas suitable for air-borne landings.

Unable to Prosecute

But Svensson never brought the case to court. He could not prove which of the detained Poles had been responsible for marking the maps. And since there are no collective penalties under Swedish law he was unable to bring charges.

"The pattern of surveying people and places in peacetime using a variety of civilian cover stories is typical of Warsaw Pact countries," a source working for the security service told SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

At the request of Commander in Chief Lennart Ljung the security service investigated the salesmen's activities last summer. All air force personnel were asked if they had been visited by art salesmen in the last few years.

"The results showed that we must take the art salesmen seriously," said a source who had seen the classified findings.

Half Visited

Pilots all over the country had been visited. Jamtland's air wing where 60 percent of the pilots had received visits from the Poles was hardest hit.

And more than half the air force personnel at the Military Aviation School in Ljungbyhed and at the F-18 wing in Tullinge, south of Stockholm, had received visits from the art salesmen.

The Commander in Chief's study was carried out in the summer of 1984 and covered visits from 1980 up to the date of the study. A total of 113 pilots reported receiving visits.

#### Art from Hong Kong

Who are these art salesmen and what are they selling?

The pictures are mass-produced oil paintings from Hong Kong. However the Poles signed each painting with their own names and covered them with a layer of varnish.

They were sold for between 150 and 500 kronor. A reputable art dealer examined some of the paintings and classified them as "banal--worth 10 kronor at most."

Nor were the salesmen the "poor art students" they claimed to be. Members of the groups that were detained included Polish nuclear physicists, civil engineers, architects and engineers--all with permanent jobs in their own country. Some were ordinary students.

#### Group Operation

The security service looked into how these groups operate.

They often split up into groups of three or four people. Each group has a car that is registered in Sweden.

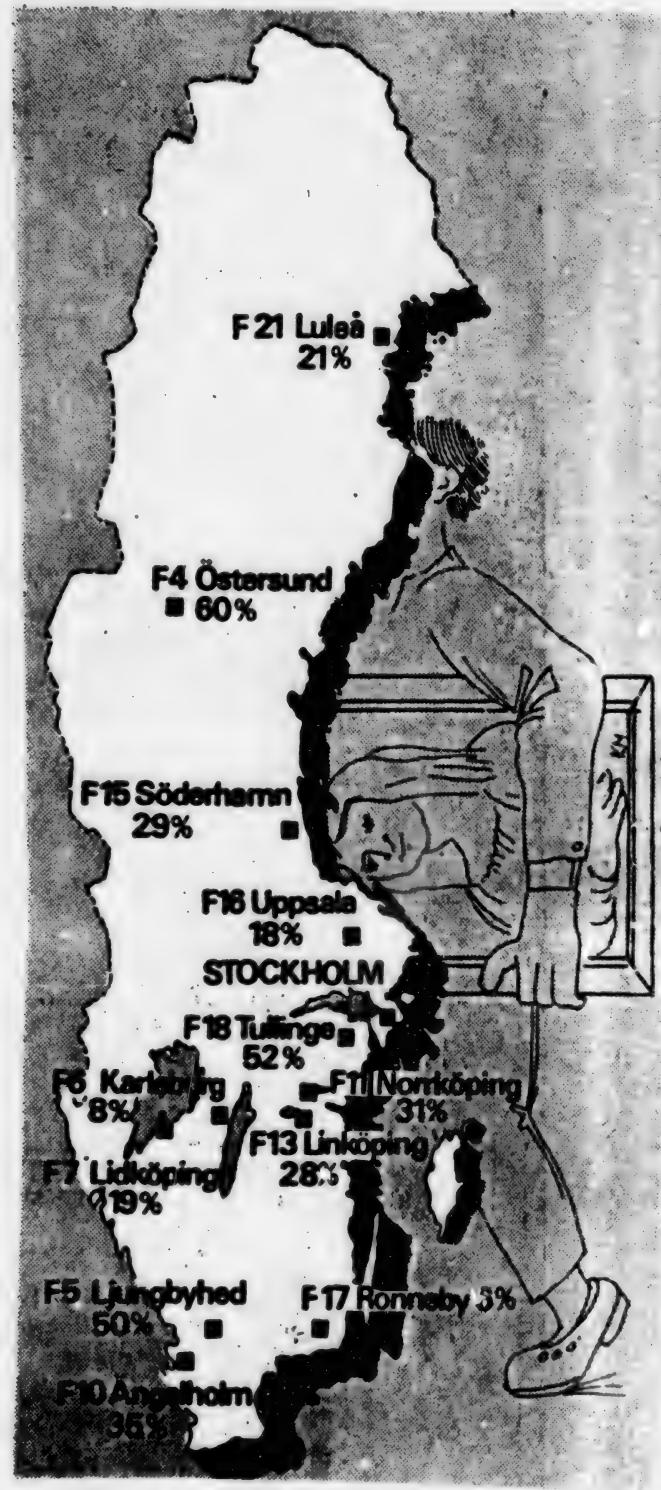
The operation is run from Stockholm and the leader there rents rooms around the country for the various groups. However they do not sell the paintings close to their rented quarters but prefer to drive for a distance of several miles before they start working.

#### Easy to Conceal Agents

The groups are led by a person who gives the "salesmen" orders about where and to whom they should try to sell the paintings. When the group leader leaves his crew he often has several hours on his hands in which he can survey military and civilian sites in the neighborhood.

Group members did not know each other's last names. The security service felt that there were good opportunities to hide qualified agents among the "genuine salesmen who were unaware of their activities."

The "salesmen" in the different groups are often replaced--sometimes people switch to other groups and sometimes replacements come in from Poland. There are reports that Poles returning home take "completed" maps with them.



Over half the flying personnel in some air wings have received visits from the art salesmen. The Jamtland air wing reported the largest number of visits.

## Civilian Cover Stories

The activities of the art salesmen are in line with the picture the Swedish security service has of how Warsaw Pact sabotage units operate in peacetime. They enter "enemy territory" using civilian cover stories. They appear to be tourists, sports figures, members of official delegations, long-distance truck drivers and ship and airplane crew members.

Once they are inside Sweden they work as close as possible to potential targets. A presumptive attacker who can study in advance sabotage targets, collection points, landing sites, regrouping areas and people scheduled for liquidation has an obvious advantage.

"That could be the real job of the art salesmen," one security source said. "But they can also clarify and update facts for units in their own country or in other countries in their bloc."

## Knocking Out Key People

Military analysts point out that Warsaw Pact countries would gain a great deal if they had access to Swedish air bases. But to make this possible it is necessary to knock key people in and around these bases out of action as quickly as possible.

Vital military personnel not connected with the air force have also been visited by the art salesmen in 1984. Reports have come in from high-ranking military staff officers and submarine officers. But no coordinated investigation has been made among these groups.

## Residence Permit Denied

After the second group of Poles was detained in 1981 charges were brought against three people, including two group leaders. The charges of espionage and unlawful dealings with classified information were rejected by a divided district court.

But the accused were not allowed to renew their residence permits. One of the group leaders applied for a renewed permit in 1984 but he was turned down by the government.

According to the security service investigation the activities of the art salesmen declined somewhat after compulsory visas were introduced in 1982. But in 1984 the sales increased again, especially in Norrland and Gotland.

A clear shift of interest from military targets to key personnel has been demonstrated.

It would be practically impossible to keep an eye on all Poles who receive Swedish visas.

"... we will undoubtedly have to continue to contend with this problem," a security source said.

MILITARY

SWEDEN

BOFORS NOW ACCUSED OF ILLEGAL EXPLOSIVE SALES TO EGYPT, SYRIA

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Sep 85 p 7

[Article by Bo G. Andersson: "New Accusations Against Bofors"]

[Text] The accusations against Bofors in Karlskoga by Customs authorities are growing. The company is now also suspected of having smuggled military explosives and gunpowder to Egypt and Syria.

At the same time Customs people are beginning to discern "an international network" of large war materiel producers who coordinate their export business deals.

Some of the shipments to Egypt and Syria were handled through an ammunition company in Austria, with which Bofors has had close cooperation. Random samples taken by Customs show that the smuggling from Bofors may have been going on since the 1960's.

However, for investigative reasons the Customs Criminal Office in Stockholm, which heads the inquiries, has limited its examination to the period of 1979-84.

There is suspicion that during those years Bofors subsidiary Nobel Kemi smuggled military explosives and gunpowder to belligerent Iran, Syria, Egypt and yet another Arab country. This is contrary to Swedish law, since the entire Middle East is closed to Swedish exports of military goods.

Railroad

Bofors's sales to Syria are, briefly, suspected of having taken place in the following manner:

The company got the permission of the Swedish government to export to Austria. On paper the buyer was an Austrian company. It is part of major well-known group headquartered in Vienna.

When the goods were exported from Sweden, Austria was indicated as the final destination. In the shipping documents etc. there was no trace whatsoever of the fact that the munitions were actually destined for Syria.

The shipments were transported by rail, and officially it was said that they passed in transit through the FRG. But in utmost secrecy the shipments were rerouted before reaching the Austrian company, yes, sometimes even before they reached Austria. Instead, they were driven to a port and shipped by sea to Syria.

#### Network

According to Customs authorities, the entire arrangement was founded on close cooperation between Bofors and the Austrian company. For instance, the payment routes from the Syrian buyers went via Austria.

The Customs people now think they are seeing what they call "an international network" of major munitions producers in various nations, who in spite of competing nevertheless coordinate their export deals in order jointly to mislead controlling authorities and governments.

Last year two shipments from Bofors to the Austrian company were discovered while en route through the FRG. Customs authorities there became suspicious after the railroad shipment had suddenly been rerouted to Hamburg instead of continuing to the final destination in Austria.

Inquiries from West German and Swedish customs showed that the shipments of explosives had left the port of Hamburg on a ship destined for Syria. That was the beginning of the preliminary Customs investigation which was initiated in March this year.

#### Mislead

The suspected smuggling to belligerent Iran and Egypt follows largely the same pattern as the exports to Syria. The difference is that other Western nations and even an Eastern state have assumed Austria's function of "rebound" point.

According to Customs, the intent behind selling via Austria was to mislead the Swedish government, which believed that the war materiel was to be used by the Austrian defense forces.

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ECONOMIC

DENMARK

NEWSPAPER, CENTRAL BANK CHIEF URGE CONTINUED BUDGET RESTRAINT

Over Confidence Warned Against

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 26 Aug 85 p 8

[Editorial: "Warning In Time"]

[Text] As the economic trend appears at present, there are many indications that the budget deficit will be even lower than previously expected. This applies both to the deficit for the present fiscal year and to the budgeted deficit for 1986.

The proposed 1986 budget includes a deficit of about 26 billion kroner. Several of the assumptions on which the budget is based, however, may prove to be overly pessimistic compared to the actual trends.

The favorable trend that has developed as a result of the change in economic policy has come more rapidly and more strongly, in many respects, than anyone dared hope. This is true, for example, of the extremely low rate of inflation, the drop in interest rates, and the trend in production and employment. The drop in the exchange rate of the dollar, which is of significance in connection with interest and installment payments on the national debt, is having a similar effect. From the standpoint of the national economy, this is a favorable trend that will help reduce the deficit as early as the present fiscal year. If the trend holds, the deficit in the 1986 budget will also be lower than estimated. In addition, 1986 will see the income-related effects of the extremely large surpluses at financial institutions that, in all probability, will result from the drop in interest rates and the accompanying rise in prices.

Of course, the prospects of a sharp drop in the deficit are gratifying, but there is also reason to warn against celebrating too soon. Neither the interest nor exchange rate, and the resulting surplus at financial institutions, are phenomena that will be repeated year after year. It is a question of one-time effects. Consequently, there is absolutely no reason to change the present spending policy. Those who have advocated such a change recently should be taught as soon as possible about the true state of affairs and the seriousness with which the government views the magnitude of the current national debt. Of course, new priorities can and should be set, but an expansion of the public

sector is totally incompatible with the politics of reconstruction.

There are several reasons why we must warn against laxity. Last week it was reported that there was an increase in social-sector personnel from 1984 to 1985. In the health sector, the number of doctors continued to rise, accompanied by a net increase in other personnel groups. County governments have failed to control increased expenditures. Finally, many local governments have complained about next year's budget. Local elections will be held in November and, apparently, many local governments lack the political backbone to face the constant pressure that exists in this situation. The situation is further complicated by the fact that local governments are swimming in extra money.

To be sure, state finances have improved, but an expansion of the public sector is incompatible with an improvement in the country's economy. Thus, improved state finances do not necessarily mean an improved national economy.

#### Banker Fears Higher Interest

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 4 Sep 85 p 1

[Article: "Steps against Consumption Now"]

[Text] "Interest rates will climb again if we fail to see that we are about to improve our balance of payments," said central bank director Erik Hoffmeyer. In August there was a sudden currency loss of 4.9 billion kroner.

"The government must take financial steps as quickly as possible." Central bank director Erik Hoffmeyer made this clear statement in connection with the catastrophic currency figures for August. During that month there was a currency loss of 4.9 billion kroner, which could not immediately be explained.

"I have called for a more restrained fiscal policy since last spring. Of course, there are political difficulties involved in taking financial steps, but if you ask me, measures should be taken as quickly as possible," Erik Hoffmeyer said.

"If nothing is done before the next half year, people will lose confidence in the government's desire to improve the balance of payments. This means that interest rates would rise once again."

"The trend in exports has been good, but not good enough. A flourishing domestic market is not the best incentive to export goods," the central bank director said. He said that the increase in exports had been totally offset by the increase in private consumption. "We are just marking time," Erik Hoffmeyer said.

Both the government and business have warned recently against hysterical measures against consumption. The central bank director pointed out that he had previously called for an increase in specific excise taxes rather than

an increase in the general sales tax. "Someone else must determine the extent of the measures," said Erik Hoffmeyer, who expects a deficit in the balance of payments of 20 billion, perhaps even 22 billion, kroner if nothing is done.

In previous months there had been a net import of capital, while in August there was a net capital export of 4.9 billion kroner. So far, no estimate is available on unregistered capital transfers, such as shifts in commercial credits, so that the large currency drain cannot yet be explained in detail.

Handelsbanken's chief economist, Per Bendix, does not find the currency figures encouraging. "The concern that was felt following the poor trade figures for July may be intensified by the balance of payments figures. Such a large drop in currency reserves is no positive sign, even though part of the drop is due to the accelerated repayment of debts to other countries," Per Bendix said.

"These recent developments must make the politicians take notice of what happens in the next few weeks--week by week--with great interest," the chief economist at Handelsbanken said.

#### Paper Comments on Banker's Remarks

Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 5 Sep 85 p 8

[Editorial: "Central Bank Director"]

[Text] "The quality is fine." This was the brief answer given by the prime minister when he was asked in parliament to evaluate the statements of the central bank director on economic policy. When asked to elaborate on the meaning of this brief answer, he said, "Everyone knows that the director of the central bank is a highly qualified and outstanding economist." The prime minister could have added that Erik Hoffmeyer was a former university instructor and that, over the years, he had made many informative and instructive contributions to the people's and the politicians' understanding of economic conditions. But, of course, it is as director of the central bank, with its specific responsibility for monetary policy, that Hoffmeyer's public statements are followed with close attention.

Erik Hoffmeyer has been director of the central bank for 20 years. During that long term, he played a prominent role during all the years in which the country's economic crisis raged and during the few years in which the present government has taken positive steps toward economic reconstruction. During the former period, his statements were characterized by an urgent warning concerning the misfortunes that awaited our country. Since the change in government, his statements have contained recognition of the comprehensive policies the government has attempted to implement, but he has been unable to free himself of the overall pessimism that has always characterized his thoughts. Despite the respect the prime minister has for the quality of the central bank chief, Poul Schluter must have had him in mind in the spring of 1984 when he spoke out against the "souring" of the economic debate. Typical of that debate is that, on the same day that the prime minister repeated his

optimistic statements on exports, the central bank director dashed our expectations by once again demanding financial restraint. Hoffmeyer has been raising this demand for a long time and he has accompanied it with provocative and not so well-founded statements on the introduction of a shorter work week and on the necessity of compulsory profit-sharing.

With the central bank's independent responsibility and as an advisor to the government, Erik Hoffmeyer has an important task, which he has made even greater by serving as mentor and teacher of the public. The natural consequence of this multifaceted task has been his desire to reach broad sectors of society. In practice, this has meant that he has often tried to explain his opinions and argue in favor of their validity. The risk with this outwardly oriented pose is that he could join the ranks of economists who, from a wide variety of backgrounds, contribute to the "souring" the prime minister once spoke out against and which the public must have a difficult time wading through. He is running the risk that the natural authority of his prominent and responsible position will be undermined by his own activities. The quality is fine, the prime minister said, but the quality would be valued higher if it were not tested week after week.

Despite this, we recognize the prominent position of the central bank director and his influence on the government, parliament, and the public. But we also believe that society is best served when his position is endowed with great authority and that neither the bank, the government, nor parliament is well served by demeaning this authority.

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ECONOMIC

FINLAND

TECHNOLOGY CENTER DIRECTOR SEES NEED TO JOIN EUREKA PROJECT

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 15 Sep 85 p 17

[Article by Heikki Arola: "Eureka Provides Starting Point for Enterprises; Without Treasury or Secretarial Staff the Dangers of Bureaucracy Can Be Avoided"]

[Text] "The Eureka venture is purely a civilian project." Juhani Kuusi, the director of the Technological Development Center, Tekes, who will travel on Monday to the preliminary meeting of Eureka in Bonn as a representative of Finland, assures us that "its beginnings have nothing to do with the American 'Star Wars'."

At Bonn they will prepare for a meeting of ministers to be held in Hanover at the beginning of November. The purpose of the meeting is to solve all the large questions concerning Eureka's future: organization, funding, goals and first concrete projects.

Not everyone has believed in the ability of the disunited continent to resolve these questions in a practical manner, not even within Europe itself. The interest of the enterprises is believed to be attracted better by a clear program like the SDI or the Star Wars of the United States. We already have proof of it; many large European enterprises are already negotiating about participation in American superprojects.

Learning from Mistakes

Nevertheless Juhani Kuusi believes in Eureka's success. One reason for his optimism is that this time a decision has been made to learn from experience and avoid previously-made mistakes.

Projects and funds have been established previously in Europe, especially within the framework of the EC. According to Kuusi they have often been plagued by bureaucracy. Cooperation has not reached the level it was supposed to reach, or in other words, enterprises and, through them, commercial products.

In this way a situation has been reached, in which the European manufacturers, despite the high level of science and technology, are being left behind by Japan and the United States, even in their own markets.

Kuusi summarized the Eureka goal briefly as follows: that through cooperation between the enterprises, supported by governments, such European products would be created which would compete successfully with the Japanese and American products. The first goal is to recapture the European "home markets" for the Europeans, but also to compete in other markets.

#### No Secretariat, no Fund

In order to avoid bureaucracy, the preliminary meeting in Paris in July made a decision in principle to make the Eureka organization as light as possible. There is no intention to create a secretariat or a common treasury. Instead, the initiative in the Eureka projects is left on the shoulders of the independent enterprises.

The enterprises are expected to seek their European partners, decide on the framework of cooperation and seek their funding just as for their other investments. In addition, each enterprise can request public funding from its own country and it is expected from the governments that join Eureka that funds will be found if the project is established. If a Finnish enterprise, like Nokia, for example, has found Eureka partners to its liking, it will present its project plan and budget estimate to the Technological Development Center. Tekes can allow at most 50 percent in aid or 75 percent as a loan to cover the expenses, with exactly the same reasons and rules that it now uses to allow promising business ventures in support of product development.

There is no need for a separate Eureka treasury or funds earmarked for Eureka. The funding can be taken care of by adding designated funds in the supplementary budget for the Technological Development Center.

According to Juhani Kuusi, it would not be profitable to deliberate yet how large the additional funding demanded by Eureka would be. The need for funds will be clarified only after we see how many interested enterprises and how many Eureka ventures suitable for Finnish enterprises will be found. This, for the time being, is not known.

#### Slap on the Wrist for the Bureaucracy

In a way, according to Kuusi, Eureka is clearly a slap on the wrist for the overstuffed bureaucracy of the EC. By avoiding the creation of a common treasury and by handing the initiative to the enterprises, an attempt is made at the same time to create a dynamism at the entrepreneurial level which would lead to the goal, the flow of commercial products to the markets.

The English, especially, have expressed their irritability at the sluggish activity of the EC, and emphasized that the EC's initiatives must be clearly commercial and that the "customer" should be an ordinary person for whom the products are created, rather than only the state or industry.

Eureka was first seen as a competitor by the EC, but now the division of labor is beginning to be clarified so that Eureka will concentrate on product

development on the entrepreneurial level, and the numerous ventures started by the EC on applied research, the raising of the technological level.

#### Civilian Counterpart

Kuusi believes that if Eureka starts from the foundation described above, there is no need to fear that it could possibly be attached to a "Star Wars" military venture. Fundamentally Eureka is strictly a civilian venture.

"And since the participation is enterprise and project-linked, I don't see a real problem here. At least the Finnish enterprises will not be participating in any military projects," says Kuusi.

According to Kuusi, the U.S. defense project is in addition undoubtedly a great attraction for the European enterprises, and because of that, an attempt will be made to make Eureka into a competitive alternative. Eureka is the civilian counterpart of "Star Wars." And if some West European government decides to start funding SDI, that would, of course, be a serious blow to Eureka. The arrangement will be clarified at the latest in Hanover.

#### All Preconditions

According to Kuusi, the Finnish enterprises meet all the realistic preconditions to participate in Eureka and find European partners. They both have something to receive and something to give in the project.

"Since Europe continues to have a rather one-sided view of our industry, this will be an excellent way to make known our industries other than wood processing. And if we join in the common European production, it will automatically mean expanding markets. European markets have generally been difficult for the Finns to exploit."

Kuusi emphasizes that Eureka does not mean that the competition in product development between the enterprises would disappear. Cooperation would not go that far. But the goal is to organize several cooperative groups of a few enterprises, which would then compete among one another. In this way we could get closer to the U.S. or Japanese situation which have large enterprises, but there are several of them and the competition is real.

"The key word is a competitive product which will do well on any market. Eureka cannot come to mean that we will make poor products together, which we will then decide to purchase together."

#### Eurotrinkets for the Markets

If Eureka is realized and becomes active, the store shelves will, after a few years, be bending under the weight of various kinds of Eurotrinkets. Euro-tape recorders, Eurocars, Euro-TV's and Euro-refrigerators will appear on the market.

Well, perhaps it won't happen quite that way, but this is the direction we are heading in, if it is possible to conclude anything from the preliminary Eureka documents.

The English and the French have, for the time being, sketched in greatest detail what this project, launched so grandly, could include in practice.

The English are suggesting that the following three themes should be included: /Eurotrans, Eurofac/ and /Eurohome/ [in italics].

/Eurotrans/ [in italics] would comprise a transportation project and, according to the proposal, it would include, among other things, the development of ultrafast land transportation, improved anti-aircraft control, the development of a digital autophone and the automation of postal services.

/Eurofac/ [in italics] means the building of the factory of the future. The project would include new materials, laser technology, robotics, microelectronics.

The springboard for the third theme of the English, /Eurohome/ [in italics] is purely the individual consumer. The Eurohome project would include the development of all that is seen as necessary in a home. The theme would also include the development of European standards for household equipment.

The themes developed by the French are at least as inventive in their names. The French projects include /Euromatic/ [in italics] -- information technology, /Eurobot/ [in italics] -- robotics, /Eurocom/ [in italics] -- communications technology, /Eurobio/ [in italics] -- biotechnology, and /Euromat/ [in italics] -- the development of new materials.

The Danes already have hastened to present a list of their enterprises which possibly could take part in the Eureka projects. Included are, among others, the most famous Danish enterprise, the Carlsberg Brewery. Soon you will be able to find at the stores a light Euro-drink, a mixture of beer and wine. This kind of hodgepodge already exists and the French wine industry is seriously concerned over its popularity among young people. Wondrous could be the achievements of Eureka.

12989  
CSO: 3617/173

ECONOMIC

ITALY

BRIEFS

**GRANT TO GHANA--**(ANSA) Accra, Ghana, 5 Sep--Italy has approved a 21 million dollar grant to Ghana as part funding for two projects in the country. According to the Italian Ambassador in Ghana Luigi Duranto, 15 million dollars will go into the rehabilitation of a 50-mile water pipeline which feeds the capital and Tema, 18 miles east of the capital. The remaining six million dollars will go into the construction of a sub-station for a rural electrification project in Northwest Ghana, he said. Duranto said the agreement for the grant would be signed soon but gave no specific date. [Text] [Rome ANSA in English 1530 GMT 5 Sep 85 AU]

**IRAQ PIPELINE CONTRACT--**Rome, 3 Sep (AFP)--Iraq has placed a contract worth over 500 million dollars with SAIPEM, part of the Italian ENI group, for doubling up the oil pipeline between Kirkuk fields and the Turkish border. Last week Turkey placed an order for the section from the border to Ceyhan in Iskenderum Bay. These jobs were won against competition from several United States and West European companies. The contracts combine to form one turnkey operation involving some 600 miles of pipeline, ancillary supplies and the extension of terminals at both ends. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 0656 GMT 3 Sep 85 AU]

CSO: 3528/107

OCEAN/POLAR ISSUES

BELGIUM

## PLANNED ANTARCTIC RESEARCH PROGRAM CRITICIZED

Brussels KNACK in Dutch 21 Aug 85 pp 15-16

[Article by J.G.: "In Search of 3000 Penguin Couples. Why Do We Need 91.5 Million for Antarctic Research?"]

[Text] This spring members of Greenpeace, the environmentalist organization, kept watch in front of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They did so to direct our attention to the so-called Consultative Meeting of Parties to the Antarctic Treaty, which will take place in October in Brussels. If the small Greenpeace delegation had not paraded up and down, there is a very good chance that to this day nobody would have heard a word about this undoubtedly very interesting conference.

Now what actually bothered the young Greens so much is the French plan to construct a runway for aircraft near the Dumont d'Urville Antarctic base, which lies opposite New Zealand. To do so, five small islands will have to be expanded, and according to Greenpeace--which is supported here by a Committee of Wise Men set up by the French government--that is a frontal attack on the environment.

Now, the October meeting must block the French plans once and for all, Greenpeace believes, but whether it will do so is still not clear today. On the other hand, the meeting of the top Antarctic researchers in Brussels was one reason for a notable step on the part of the Belgian government: through the Minister of Science Policy's budget it has allocated 91.5 million francs for new Belgian Antarctic research, and nothing of that sort has happened for almost as long as anyone can remember. This gesture was intended to send a double signal: it was the response to Greenpeace accusations that our country was not doing any more Antarctic research, and the world should just bear it clearly in mind that Belgium is one of the countries that signed the Antarctic Treaty.

### The Fabiola Mountains

That treaty dates to 1959. At that time twelve countries (Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the USSR) ratified an agreement that was in fact unique, and still is, in diplomatic history. The treaty consisted of just eight articles and regulated the right of ownership and the use of the continent, which contains 90 percent of all the ice in the world, for a period of 30 years.

The Antarctic, for instance, was not to be used for military purposes. According to article two, efforts were to be made to achieve international cooperation and complete freedom of scientific research. Information was to be freely exchangeable. None of the treaty states would make further territorial claims, and no atomic tests could be carried out in the Antarctic, and no waste dumped. Two years after the original signing, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the Netherlands, Romania, and Denmark joined the club.

Scientific research on this bizarre ice mass was very popular in the 1960's especially. Weather stations and winter camps sprang up all over. The entire continent almost was mapped. And we got mountains down there with names like "Queen Fabiola" or "Belgica," a Leopold and Astrid Coast, and a King Baudouin Base. That was closed in 1967, virtually putting an end to our scientific research down there. Summer expeditions did still depart for Antarctica, but they entirely lacked the grand style of the large-scale campaigns from the early and middle 1960's. Belgian Antarctic research was simply bleeding to death, until, after roughly 15 years in the doldrums, Philippe Maystadt found 91.5 million for new, though limited, research.

Paul Vanhaecke, director of operations in the Ministry of Science Policy, admits that the government intends this as proof that our country is still interested in Antarctica. "Large expeditions like those in the past, which would cost around 180 million, can no longer be justified financially. That is why we decided on a smaller operation, with limited projects allocated to institutes that are generally recognized as 'outstanding research centers.' Our efforts must then be made as part of international campaigns and expeditions organized by countries like Norway, Germany, and France."

The Belgian contribution will be distributed through four areas: plankton ecology, marine geochemistry, marine geophysics, glaciology and climatology. That is a big assignment, but in practice the fact is that these research areas are very generally meant. Thus, for instance, more studies will be carried out on the Antarctic's impact on the climate, a number of geological investigations will be carried out, and they will make an exhaustive study of how everything looks in this last, unpolluted piece of the earth, and finally they will search for any possibilities of exploiting the natural wealth. That main interest here is not in the 3000 pairs of emperor penguins that roam about there, nor in the natural gas, gold, copper, silver, platinum, chromium, and oil that lie under the ice: the opportunities to exploit those are thought to be very slight for the immediate future, and such projects are simply beyond our country's financial reach. No, they are looking for more pedestrian things. "Just to take an example," Vanhaecke says, "we will investigate whether chemicals can be extracted from sources in the sea. And what we might be able to do with them in the pharmaceutical industry, for instance. That would be, shall we say, a new form of biotechnology."

#### Annoyance

There has been criticism from two sides of the decision to allocate 91.5 million for new Antarctic research. Thus the Ministry of Finance Inspectorate has doubts about the value of the project, because this sort of research has not been a scientific priority item over the past decade, and because as a small country we will not be able to get much out of it financially. Belgium would, the Inspectorate argues, be much better off undertaking something at the European level, where the EC member states could set up some thorough-going research with more resources and reasonable coordination.

In Maystadt's ministry they merely confirm the criticism that Antarctica has long been left alone by us. But, they say there, it is impossible for our country to continue as a treaty state if it does not invest a single franc, and it is just too dumb if we organize the 13th Consultative Meeting, while for almost 15 years we have no longer shown any interest in the object of the meeting. And as for European cooperation: within the EC there is at present not a single coordinated operation or project on to which a Belgian scientific contribution could be "grafted." That is the reason for what might be called the solo performance.

In addition, Science Policy points out in its own defense, this is a limited program: 91.5 million for scientific research is practically nothing at all. Look at it carefully, and you will find that it is only enough to keep 10 researchers busy over the project period of 3.5 years. Roughly two thirds of the total (60 million) goes for salaries and minor research equipment. Twenty million will be spent for the expeditions themselves, while 10 million will be withheld for program administration, which will be done in Maystadt's ministry by the way.

The second source of annoyance is the ratio being used in allocating the funds. Flemish scientists are not happy that only 49.28 percent of the money available went to Flemish university bodies. They may be right or they may not.

Research institutes at the State University of Ghent, the Free University of Brussels, and the Catholic University of Louvain do in fact receive only 49 percent, but the other 50 percent plus does not go to French-speaking university institutes. That is because a unitary body--the North Sea and Scheldt Estuary Mathematical Model Administrative Unit--gets some 10 percent of the cake. Hence the real ratio is 49 percent for the Flemings, 39 percent for the Walloons, and 10 percent is spent nationally.

#### Windmills

When this research has been completed in 3.5 years, there are no plans at all to continue with it. They will take a look then to see whether it might be opportune to go on with it in its entirety or in part. In scientific circles, however, they are already convinced that at best only parts of it will survive after the original period.

Vanhaecke: "When this project is evaluated, it may in fact turn out that as a whole it has produced little in the way of results. But personally I hope that one or more aspects of the program will be worth further research. It is true of all scientific programs that in the first stage you have to have a broad foundation of basic research. It is only later, in the second stage, that you can select a number of elements out of that for applied research. That is how we got energy windmills, for instance. In the same way we may get something out of the Antarctic research."

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ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

SWEDEN

FARMERS INCREASING USE OF CHEMICALS IN DRIVE FOR BIGGER CROPS

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Sep 85 p 19

[Article by Thomas Michelsen: "Agriculture Seeks Giant Crops; Fields Increasingly Sprayed"]

[Text] The chemical manipulation of wheat and rye is increasing at an avalanche-like speed. Now it is not only the soil that is sprayed. Between one-third and one-half of the Swedish rye and winter wheat fields are sprayed with a stalk-shortening preparation, usually choloromequat chloride under the brand name Cycocel.

In two years, from 1982 to 1984, the use of the stalk-reducing substance has quadrupled in the country.

The most common substance, choloromequat chloride, is simultaneously the chemical preparation that usually leaves the highest residue in the harvested grain. Residual levels of between 0.1 and one milligram (mg) per kilogram harvested grain can be found when the substance has been sprayed in a normal manner over wheat or rye. It is rarely used on oats, but there the preparation can leave even higher residues, between 3 and 4 mg per kilogram. The toxicity of choloromequat chloride can almost be compared to phenoxy acids.

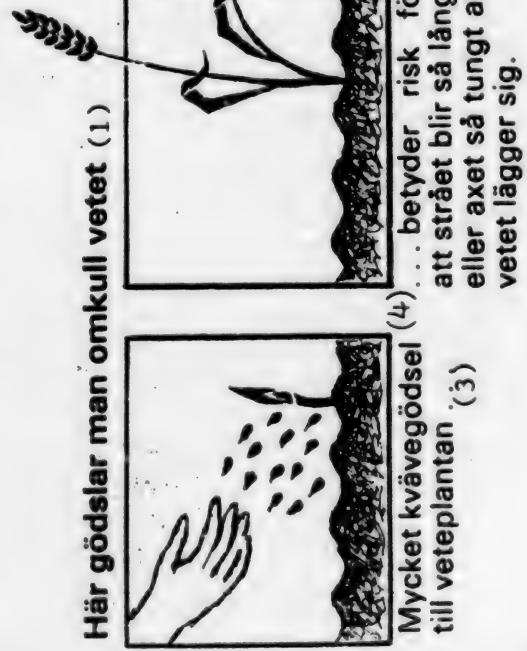
The state does not continuously monitor the residue from pesticides and other preparations in grain in our country. The above data are taken from random samples and tests.

New Limits

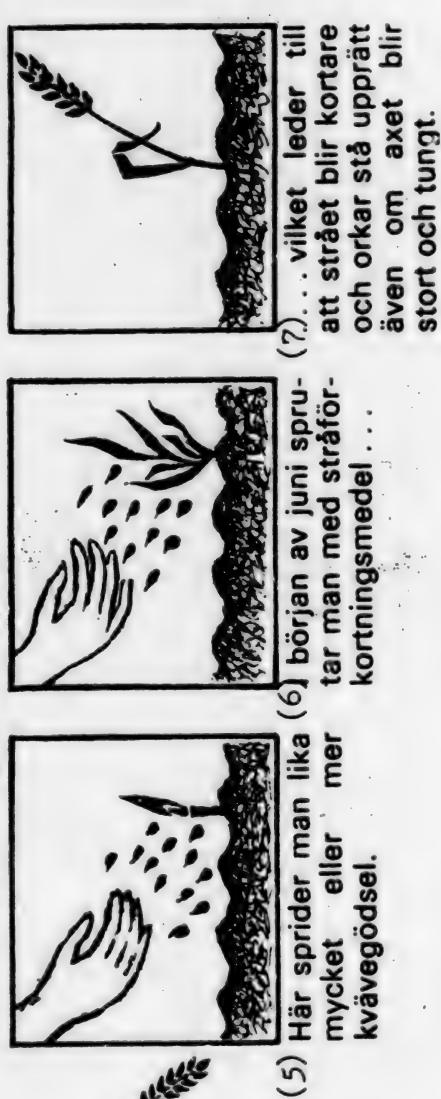
The abovementioned residual levels are below but close to the National Food Administration's limit value of 5 mg per kilogram in grain and bran and 3 mg per kilogram in flour and meal.

It should be added that it is particularly difficult to analyze the residual content of choloromequat chloride. The state laboratories are looking for a better method of analysis.

But why are stalk-shortening substances used in agriculture? It is not in order to fight diseases, pests or weeds in the fields. On the contrary, the risk of plants being damaged by a fungus disease increases when the wheat is sprayed with choloromequat chloride.



(2) **Mer kemihåller plantan upprätt**



**Key:** 1. Here the wheat is fertilized until it falls.

2. More chemistry keeps the plant upright.
3. A large amount of nitrogen fertilizer to the wheat plant ...
4. ... means risk that the stalk will become so tall or the ear so heavy that the wheat lodges.
5. Here just as much or more nitrogen fertilizer is added.
6. In early June stalk-reducing chemicals are sprayed ...
7. ... which leads to a shorter stalk and one with the strength to stay upright even if the ear becomes large and heavy.

## The Stalk Collapses

Instead, stalk-reduction is used in order for the stalks to be able to tolerate heavy nitrogen fertilization. During intense cultivation the grain can be "fertilized to the ground." A large amount of nitrogen causes the stalk to grow so long or the spike to become so heavy that it simply collapses. And lodged grain means losses and harvesting difficulties.

Docent Ulf Wunsche of the Agricultural University is a specialist in stalk-shortening substances.

"These preparations are used primarily in winter wheat and rye. It is particularly common in growing rye, almost a rule, since the rye has weak stalks. For winter wheat it has been used chiefly in intensive cultivation, where very large crops are desired."

"The increased use of nitrogen is likely to lead to increasingly more people using stalk-reduction substances," Ulf Wunsche concludes.

## Increased Sales

The sales statistics encompass the period up to 1984. In the last two years usage has grown from 35 to 140 tons of active components.

But there are reasons to believe in an even more rapid increase in the future. As early as the summer of 1985 many farmers fertilized their wheat more heavily than before. The reason is that as of this year's crop they will get more money for wheat with a high protein content. Increased nitrogen fertilization is the usual way of raising the protein content of the crop. The Board of Agriculture has calculated that the new higher prices for protein in wheat makes it profitable to increase nitrogen fertilization by about 15 percent.

## Poinsettias

Besides being used to shorten the stalks of primarily rye and winter wheat, chloromequat chloride is also used in growing decorative plants. For example, gardeners shorten the stems of poinsettias and chrysanthemums with the help of this substance. However, out of the total consumption of 140 tons the gardeners use only 3 tons.

The stalk-reducing substance is not the only one remaining in wheat or rye when harvested, although chloromequat chloride leaves the highest levels.

Pesticides can also remain behind. And these chemicals are usually not volatile or sensitive to heat. Therefore it is not possible to hope that they evaporate or escape during baking in the oven, for instance. Some remain in the bran, but wheat bran is now increasingly common as human food. Chloromequat chloride does not begin to break down until + 245 degrees C.

Examples of pesticides which can leave residue in grain are weed killers such as the phenoxy acid MCPA, which can leave 0.01 mg per kilogram, Mekoprop, which can leave 0.02 mg and Difenoquat, a wild oat chemical, which can leave 0.1 mg.

An insecticide such as Fenvalerat can leave 0.01 mg per kilogram of grain. These are only a few examples from random samples and tests, some of which are foreign. We know very little about the levels that usually occur since they are not monitored.

The stalk-reduction substance Cycocel is usually sprayed on the field at the end of May or in early June. This is approximately 3 months before the harvest. However, it can give satisfactory results if sprayed later in the summer. In Denmark the spraying of substances less than 3 months before harvest is forbidden. A similar ban does not exist in our country.

What is the Food Administration's comment on the increasing chemical treatment of growing grain?

Not Happy

Prof Bengt von Hofsten: "We are not happy that up to 10 substances are used in the cultivation of winter wheat, for example. The Food Administration is working on a study to see what remains in the products. We want to work for reduced use and less dangerous chemicals."

[Question] What is the agency doing in practice in order to reach that goal?

[Answer] "We cannot do very much as long as the limit values are not exceeded."

[Question] What is known about the combined effects of these preparations?

[Answer] "On paper one can always say that there is risk that the substances reinforce the effect of each other. In practice, however, there is no evidence of this. It would therefore be wrong to paint images of horror."

"But we can never supply any guarantees against long-term effects or combined effects."

[Question] What is the agency's opinion of the rapid growth of chemical stalk-reduction?

[Answer] "There is a limit value of 3 mg chloromequat chloride per kilogram flour and that includes a large safety margin. But ideally we should not have any residue at all, particularly not in basic food such as flour and bread. Now that the use is growing, we have reason to take a closer look at the stalk-reduction preparations."

## New Fodder Law Is Coming

Stalk-reduction substances which are used in grain can be compared to the antibiotics (also called chemotherapeutics) which pigs and chickens are given in their fodder in order grow faster.

The question of mixing antibiotics into the fodder in order to accelerate growth was taken up by DAGENS NYHETER several years ago. A new fodder law which prohibits growth antibiotics in fodder will come into force after the first of the year.

Both antibiotics in fodder and stalk-reducing substances in the field mean economic advantages. In the one case the animal grows a little faster. In the other case the risk of laid grain is reduced. As for rye, the quality is even believed to be better: With choloromequat chloride there is a greater possibility that the rye will have a high baking capability.

The National Food Administration, for its part, takes about the same stance in both cases. The administration cannot indicate that the substances used are dangerous to the health when used in the prescribed manner. In that case the agency would have been required to intervene, of course.

On the other hand, the agency questions the use of chemicals which involve risks of residual levels. It wants to minimize foreign substances in the products, especially where basic foodstuffs are concerned.

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